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ABSTRACT

This monograph considers the effects of the family on the intellectual and personal development of the child, and the effects of culture upon the family's way of life, and thus, on the child. In a survey of early compensatory education projects, university based programs, and school and community programs are described. Program organizational questions discussed are: locus of control, location of service, purposes and goals, and use of personnel. A status report of parental participation in compensatory education is given and program content for parental involvement is discussed, with emphasis on the importance of home visitation programs. The need for improved research and evaluation design and methods is stressed. (NH)

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PARENT INVOLVEMENT IN COMPENSATORY EDUCATION

Ira J. Gordon

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PREFACE

We have a tendency in this country in the 1960s to see our problems as new and our solutions as "innovations." For example, we have currently rediscovered infancy and rediscovered Piaget. We are to some extent aware that Montessori engaged in compensatory education without such a grandiose label in the second decade of the twentieth century. But most of us, including the writer until embarking on this monograph, have little idea of efforts in our own country as far back as the nineteenth century for "parent participation in compensatory education." Schneiderman (1968), in discussing project Head Start, uncovered a delightful piece of information from 1891 which states in language far more flowery than we use today that:

> We must labor as earnestly in the home as in the kindergarten. The former is the starting point of all civilization; and, in the effort to elevate humanity, we should endeavor to strengthen and purify, if possible, the home. To do this, regular and systematic home visiting must be done by persons who are especially prepared for the work. The visitor should be competent to give the right counsel and to win the confidence and respect of the parents.
>
> To more closely connect the kindergarten and the home interests, mothers' meetings should be inaugurated, the object of these gatherings being to give talks on the care of children, household duties, and the responsibility of motherhood.
>
> The uplifting of the home, however, cannot be a theoretical work alone; and for this reason schools for practical housework and with lessons in house economy and thrift must be established.

A Dr. Eva Harding, addressing the same group as Barrows, said in 1900, "We are growing up to an appreciation of the fact that the early years of life control and shape the entire future" (Schneiderman, 1968).

There are significant differences, however, between the efforts at the turn of the century and our present endeavors. We believe we have more scientific data to support whatever it is we are attempting to do. Our efforts are now supported from tax funds rather than simply charity, and we are just beginning, ourselves, to examine what other goals we hope to achieve. It is clear that our predecessors knew very well that they were trying to inculcate a certain morality that would now go under the label of "middle-class values." It is also clear that our predecessors thought they had a duty to perform and the right to teach a mother how to rear her child.

They thought they had the answers, while we are struggling with such questions as: "If we believe in compensatory education, for what is it we are compensating? Do we have a right to do this? In what fashion should a parent be involved? Who should determine the goals? And what are the methods which work?"

This monograph* will address itself to our attempts to answer these questions. The first chapter will present a background of current thinking about the effects of the family on the intellectual and personal development of the child, the effects of culture upon the family's way of life and thus on the child. The second chapter will describe university based programs from which some research data are available. The third chapter will present some of the programs and research findings which have their origins in legislation. In the last chapter the writer shall attempt to give not only a status report of how the field looks to him at the moment, but also some suggestions and guidelines of where we might need to go.

I. G.

The major objective of the ERIC Clearinghouse on Early Childhood Education (ERIC/ECE) is to provide a national information retrieval, storage, and dissemination system for early childhood linked with the Educational Resources Information Center (ERIC) network of the U.S. Office of Education. ERIC/ECE also provides a comprehensive information analysis program focused on substantive issues in the field of early childhood education.

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*The work on this monograph was completed in October, 1968.

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1

THE FAMILY AS AN AGENT OF SOCIALIZATION AND EDUCATION

The Importance of the Family

In spite of numerous articles predicting the decline and fall of the American family, the family is still the major social institution which is responsible for the physical survival of the young child, and the child's socialization into his particular subculture and the larger American culture. It would require a sociological treatise far beyond the realm of this monograph to deal with all of the ramifications of the family. In this section we are concerned with the family unit as a setting in which personality and motivation for learning and development of achievement behaviors are initiated. If compensatory education has as one of its goals the upgrading of the performance of youngsters so that they can achieve well in the school as it is presently constructed, then the research clearly indicates that initial experiences and continued events in the family play significant roles in achievement motivation and actual achievement. As Lavin summarizes, "The student who does well in school comes from a family which has a relatively small number of children, in which parents exhibit warmth and interest, where the child has a relatively high degree of power in decision making, and where the family is able to arrive with relative ease at consensus regarding important values and decisions" (Lavin, 1965, p. 149).

However, Lavin indicates that this conclusion is arrived at from a mixture of research results using a variety of methods. Most of the research on which his statement is based was done on middle class samples or in small longitudinal studies.

Kagan and Moss's longitudinal study at the Fels Institute indicated that the beginnings of the school years induce important behavioral changes in the child and that one of the primary events which determine this development is "identification with parents and the concomitant attempt to adopt the values and overt responses of the parent" (Kagan and Moss, 1962, p. 272). One of the problems facing educators in compensatory programs is their belief that the families of the poor are providing their children with types of models to identify with which are different from those which school people have traditionally felt to be most effective for school learning. At issue is whether or not the family of children who are to be provided with compensatory education provide a "proper" preschool and schooltime home environment, whether it is stable, and whether the climate is a learning climate.

The continuous intrusion of values into research in education is most critical for adequate discussion of this issue. For example, the Moynihan report takes the position that the "family structure of lower-class Negroes is highly unstable and in many urban centers is approaching complete breakdown" (Moynihan, 1965, p. 5). His position is that the major task for compensatory education is, therefore, the improvement of the family and the conversion of it into something resembling the stereotype of the white middle class family. In the same report Moynihan says, "Children today still learn the patterns of work from their fathers even though they may no longer go into the same jobs. White children without fathers at least perceive all about them the pattern of men working. Negro children without fathers flounder–and fail" (p. 81). He concludes that the Negro family is pathological and that the "programs of the federal government...shall be designed to have the effect, directly or indirectly, of enhancing the stability and resources of the Negro American family" (p. 48). Although there have been a number of reactions by scholars and social scientists to the Moynihan report (Rainwater and Yancey, 1967), the report and its criticisms serve simply to reinforce the view of the importance of the family as a key socialization agent.

Regardless of whether a family should be patriarchal or matriarchal, or whether the Negro family prefers being matriarchal or not, the fact remains that most families (white and Negro) consist of husband and wife and that only 11% of all American households with children under 18 had only one parent present, according to the 1960 census (Clausen, 1966, p. 6) The 1964 figures show almost 9% of white families headed by a woman, as compared with 23% of nonwhite families. A difference of this order has persisted for years according to Herzog (1967, p. 347) who further adds that "It must, of course, be recognized that 'the Negro family' is itself a fiction. Different family forms prevail at different class and income levels throughout our society...when the great diversity among low-income families is ignored, there is danger that the deplored characteristics of some will be imputed to all" (p. 353).

Family Characteristics

Where empirical evidence is considered, what are the characteristics of a family which seem to affect the development of a child? Is the matriarchal family awful? Does the home environment actually influence, and in what fashion? Just what difference does growing up in a family with a particular life style make? Honzik (1967) examined the longitudinal data gathered at the California Growth Center in order to investigate those family variables which seem related to mental growth. She studied the relationship of mental test scores at age 30 with family life data gathered at the time the child was 21 months of age. She reports that there are differential effects by sex, a finding which will be restated many times throughout this monograph. She found that affectional relations contribute to differential mental development: "The subtlety of the finding that the *father's friendliness*, but not the *expressiveness of affection*, for the daughter's intelligence decelerates in later childhood. Additionally, we find that while the boy's mental development is unrelated to *parental compatibility*, the girl's intelligence is related not only to *parental compatibility* but also to *lack of conflict about discipline and cultural standards* and even to parental agreement on having more children" (Honzik, 1967, p. 361).

In terms of the above discussion about the relative role of both parents, she found that "...boys show greater acceleration than girls when the *father is concerned about educational achievement* and when there is *parental satisfaction* with the *father's occupation* and the *father's income* is high. For optimal mental growth, the boy appears to need, first, a warm, close relation with a mother or caretaker, followed by a masculine model who not only achieves but is concerned about his son's achievement" (p. 361).

In a study of middle class families in central New Jersey, Freeberg and Payne (1967) used an interview-questionnaire technique and extracted six factors which they feel represent parental practices which might influence cognitive development. These are: willingness to devote time to the child, parental guidance, aspiration for achievement, rejection versus acceptance, provision for the child's intellectual needs, and external resources. The last factor consists of such items as "send child to nursery school as soon as possible, can use advice on teaching the child, use material rewards to get the child to learn, encourage use of toys that develop language" (Freeberg and Payne, 1967, p. 252).

The factors emerging from this questionnaire are offered here only as indicators of what middle class parents and researchers feel are critical antecedents of preschool cognitive development. They resemble to some degree the factors which Wolf (1964) found to be related to intelligence in a study of Chicago families. The Wolf items will be presented in detail in a later section.

The Importance of Maternal Behavior

Characteristically the mother has been seen as the key person in rearing the child during the early years. One of the recent concerns, as exemplified by the discussion of the Moynihan report, is for children who grow up in homes from which the father is absent. We need (1) to examine what specific role maternal behavior plays, and (2) to know what data exist about the importance of the father and the effect on the child when he is present and when he is absent. One of the basic problems in studying the impact of maternal behavior on child development is the question of method. However, a discussion of the relative validity of parental report or interview techniques compared to observation techniques is beyond the scope of this monograph. Another basic question is the choice of dimensions for study. The investigator must choose, from some theoretical position or from some intuitive basis, what maternal behaviors he wishes to study and what child behaviors he expects to find related to these.

The purely empirical approach of attempting to begin from the setting itself has to some degree been utilized by Gewirtz and Gewirtz (1967) in their study of Kibbutz infants. Here the behavior settings are based not upon a psychoanalytic or psychodynamic view of what events are critical or traumatic, but rather on observation of their existence. Behavior settings are, for example, "sleep, feeding, eating, diaper changing, dressing, bathing, medicating." The investigators are concerned about who handles these functions and the frequency with which they are handled.

The other approach to maternal behavior has its roots in psychoanalysis and concerns itself with some of the same variables, but is embedded in the theory of psychosocial development. This author is less concerned with the relative merits of theoretical approaches or methodology than with the data as they relate eventually to the family and compensatory education. We need answers to such questions as: What is it that mothers do that perhaps no one else can do? What is it that mothers do that seems to make a difference in the intellectual life and personality development of the child? Why should we involve parents in compensatory education if maternal factors are minimal in influencing development, or if someone else can do it better?

Let us turn now to the data. Klatskin, Jackson, and Wilkin (1956) followed up 50 mothers in a 3-year study of maternal attitudes, child rearing, and child behavior. Unfortunately, there were no representatives from the lower-, lower-class in their study. Two conclusions emerged: first, that mother handling was the major variable influencing child behavior in the first 3 years of life; and second, that the lowest social group they investigated (semiskilled and unskilled workers) were inconsistent on the dimension of rigidity and permissiveness in comparison to professional, managerial, skilled and white collar workers. If consistency is a virtue, then its absence in the lower class homes may be contributing to later impulsive and inconsistent learning patterns in school.

Differences in child rearing practices within a social class, rather than across social class lines, have also been found to influence behavior. In a longitudinal study at the Fels Research Institute, Kagan and Moss observed and interviewed mothers of children over a period of 14 years, and assessed maternal practices on several affective dimensions, such as protection, restrictiveness, hostility, and acceleration. The latter variable is of particular interest because it was defined as "the degree to which the mother showed excessive concern for her child's cognitive and motor development and her tendency to place excessive expectations on his level of achievement" (Kagan and Moss, 1962, p. 206). If we subscribe to concepts of direct antecedent-consequent patterns of behavior, then one might expect that concern over cognitive development would be closely related to the child's attitudes and performances in the cognitive domain. Kagan and Moss report that "the mother's behavior toward her son for the first three years was independent of her social class," (p. 209) but that this pattern changed in later years when the better educated mothers showed less restriction and more concern for acceleration. Of critical importance was their finding that the first 3 years seemed to be a critical time in a determination or prediction of later child and adult behavior. Further, protection of boys during the period of 0 to 3 months of age was "one of the best predictors of child and adult intellectual achievement," (p. 221) and also related well to the adult's concern over intellectual mastery. They conclude that "the pattern most likely to lead to involvement in intellectual achievement for the boy is early maternal protection, followed by encouragement and acceleration of mastery behaviors. For girls, however, the pattern is quite the reverse" (pp.

221-222). However, Kagan and Moss caution that correlation should never be interpreted as attributing causality. They suggest that the pattern and timing of behavior, rather than any specific act at a specific time, offer the best cues to understanding. Their finding that there were no differences between social classes seems to conflict with much of the sociological literature.

In a study of patterns of child rearing, a cautionary word is expressed concerning relationships between maternal patterns of behavior and child personality: "Mothers' practices and attitudes unquestionably have *some* importance, but with respect to many kinds of child behavior, they may not be the most important determiners. And we as yet know very little, indeed, about their relative importance to the adult personality" (Sears, Maccoby, and Levin, 1957, p. 456).

In general, there is a long tradition of belief that maternal behavior influences not only the present behavior of the very young child but also the formation of adult attitudes and patterns of performance. Which specific maternal behaviors and attitudes relate to which specific outcomes is still not clear. Later in this chapter, we will examine in more detail some of the child rearing research and the effects of the family as a mediating force on specific child patterns.

The Role of the Father

As stated earlier, a number of the children of the poor are brought up in matriarchal or, at least, husbandless homes. Let us examine what evidence of differences exists between such homes and the conventional or "traditional," husband-wife home within the same social class and caste. Kriesberg and Bellin investigated fatherless families in Syracuse, New York, and found that on many criteria there were no significant differences between husbandless and married mothers. One factor examined was the mean age at which a boy should be able to be independent. They found that most of the mothers did not feel that children suffered because of the absence of a father. The husbandless mothers were particularly concerned with the way the father's character would affect the social values of the child, and many felt that the presence of the father would lower the character of the child. (The Sears study acknowledged that what happens to children depends upon other factors in addition to maternal behavior.)

The mothers in the Kriesberg study were asked, "Do you think how a child turns out is *mostly* due to how his parents raise him or mostly due to the children he goes around with?" In this case, the husbandless mothers shifted more of the responsibility for the future of the child to the peers. However, they possessed essentially the same values and beliefs about control and independence of their children as the married mothers (Kriesberg and Bellin, 1965, p. 110). In fact, they had a higher degree of concern for how the child turned out. When it came to values toward education, the husbandless mothers seemed slightly different in setting lower levels of aspiration for their children, but all indicated they expected the son to finish high school.

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In addition, virtually four-fifths of the mothers reported that their own parents had felt that working hard in school and getting an education were important. In this regard, myths that lower class people do not value education do not hold up. Of course, "education" is a complex term and simply stating that one wants an education for a child does not mean acceptance of the present school curriculum or even an understanding of what school work involves. When this value has to be translated into action, there are differences in the Kriesberg study between the two categories of parents. They report in general, "although the husbandless mothers seem to be more likely than married mothers to be concerned about the child's school work and more demanding, they are more likely only to urge the child on, while married mothers are more likely to aid the child directly in school work or intervene with the school" (p. 141). They found, however, that there were local differences, depending upon the housing project, even in this type of behavior.

The conclusions from the Kriesberg and Bellin study again move us away from simplistic answers. There seems to be an interaction, for example, between having a husband, the family income level, and aspirations for the children, and behavior toward them that do not fall into neat categories such as those conveyed by the Moynihan report. The married mothers seem to fit the stereotypes of social class more than the husbandless mothers. In the former families the poorer families have lower aspirations for their children, and the children do not do as well. Whether or not the mother works does not seem to matter. However, in husbandless families, being poor lowers the mother's aspiration for her child, but does not seem to affect the actual performance of the child or the mother's interest and involvement in the school. Her employment seems to have a positive effect upon the child. From this large-scale study in one community, one cannot judge the impact of loss of father upon the behavior and development of a child. However, the report does seem to indicate that we must avoid sweeping generalizations indicating that having two parents is good and having one, particularly the mother, is evidence of "pathology" in Moynihan's terms. We need to investigate more thoroughly the particulars that lead to the establishment of the husbandless family. In addition, we need to recognize that this is a study of a series of housing projects, and the results may not be analogous to other inner city situations and to families in which a husband has never really been present.

Father Absence

When we turn to the psychological literature, we find clear assumptions, probably based on theories of identification, that the presence of the father has special meaning for the development of a son. As Bronfenbrenner states, "The absence of the father apparently not only affects the behavior of the child directly but also influences the mother in the direction of overprotectiveness. The effect of both these tendencies is especially critical for male children; boys from father-absent homes tend to be markedly more submissive and dependent" (Bronfenbrenner, 1961, p. 16).

Several of the studies on father absence were conducted on families in which the father was absent because of war or the nature of his occupation rather than because there was no husband at all, or the family organization was such that there were a series of men with no "legal" ties. For example, Lynn and Sawrey, in their 1959 study of Norwegian sailor families, in which the husbands were absent for approximately 2 years during the war, found greater immaturity and poorer peer adjustment of father-absent boys than of either father-present boys or father-absent girls. However, as they indicate, there was no control group nor did they know how much the sailor-wife role entered into the picture. A Carribbean study by Mischel (1961), in which father absence was common in Trinidad and Grenada, indicated that other cultural factors in addition to father absence probably played a role. He found that father absence was linked to the seeking of immediate rather than delayed gratification for 8- to 9-year-olds but not for older children.

In a study of medical school students, who obviously were not from deprived backgrounds, Siegman (1966) found that students whose fathers were absent because of the war when the students were between the ages of 1 and 4 were higher on a scale of anti-social behavior, that is, vandalism, truancy, premarital sex, thievery, and drunkenness than nonfather-absent medical students. Bandura and Walters indicated in their study of adolescent aggression (1959) that the interpersonal relationships between father and son, when the son was between 1 and 2 years old, seemed to relate to hostile delinquency acts when the son was 16. Bacon, Child, and Barry (1963), in a cross-cultural study, found that societies in which the father's presence is effective in the house seem to have lesser rates of theft and personal crime. The longitudinal study by Kagan and Moss (1962), referred to earlier, indicated that protectiveness had a mixed effect upon boys. While it was the best predictor of child and adult intellectual achievement, it also was a major predictor of nonmasculine sex role interest in boys. They found that "maternal protection apparently feminized both the boys and the girls" (p. 225).

If Bronfenbrenner is correct that the absence of the father leads to overprotectiveness, and if we relate this to the Syracuse study in which we found that husbandless mothers had more concern, then it may be inferred that father absence might create problems in sex role identification for the boy. At the same time it may not affect, or may affect positively, his need for and actual achievement.

These studies of father absence from the psychological viewpoint still beg the question of family organization as it may exist in many of our central cities. The studies use as the norm the regular husband-wife, self-contained unit. They do not describe extended family patterns or patterns in which there may be a consistent matriarchal form with the expectation of the husband playing a lesser role. It may be somewhat dangerous to infer from the above studies just what impact the father has on the behavior and development of his child in a disadvantaged home. The best we can say is that it may affect sex role identification somewhat directly and have a peripheral effect upon all other aspects of intellectual and personal growth.

In reaction to the Moynihan report Gans states, "It must be stressed that at present, we do not even know whether the lower-class Negro family structure is actually as pathological as the Moynihan report suggests. However much the picture of family life painted in that report may grate on middle class moral sensibilities, it may well be that instability, illegitimacy, and matriarchy are the most positive adaptations possible to the conditions which Negroes must endure" (Gans, 1967, p. 450). "The matriarchal family structure, and the absence of a father has not yet been proven pathological even for the boys who grow up in it....The immediate cause of pathology may be the absence of a set of emotional strengths and cultural skills in the mothers, rather than the instability or departure of the fathers. A family headed by a capable, if unmarried mother, may thus be healthier than a two-parent family in which the father is a marginal appendage. If this is true, one could argue that at present, the broken and matriarchal family is a viable solution for the Negro lower-class population, for given the economic and other handicaps of the men, a family can best survive by rejecting its men, albeit at great emotional cost to them" (p. 451). Gans' solution is to increase the employment rate of the Negro male. From the point of view of compensatory education, his comment about the absence of emotional strength and cultural skill suggests that attention be directed toward these two possible deficiencies in the mother at the same time that economic solutions are vigorously explored.

Effects of the Culture

Child Rearing Practices

The family communicates its values, aspirations, and way of life to the children through the child rearing practices utilized in the home. No assumption is made here of a one-to-one correspondence between parental behavior and the behavior of the child. The child rearing practices are mediating variables in which each family, in its own fashion, represents the culture to the child. Such labels as social caste or ethnic or class membership should not be used to imply any homogeneity within the group. There are wide ranges of differences within groups, yet the studies reported below might be accepted as representing modal practices and modal effects. They are useful as guides for rough classification but do not offer the teacher or researcher a simple classification by which he can predict individual behavior.

Child rearing is defined as "all the interactions between parents and their children" (Sears, Maccoby, Levin, 1957, p. 457). It transcends those actions consciously chosen by the parent as direct teaching or modeling and actions designed for caring for the child. It includes "the parents' expressions, attitudes, values, interests, and beliefs," and thus represents the whole system of transactional experiences within the home. With this definition, we will not be concerned with relationships between a particular theoretically derived variable such as toilet training and some predicted behavioral outcome such as miserliness. Rather, we will be looking at the total way the family seems to affect child behavior.

What factors might be somewhat characteristic of disadvantaged family child rearing practices? Recognizing that these practices do not represent all such homes, Marans and Lourie (1967) hypothesized that since the mother in such a home has not had her own needs met, she is not able to meet her baby's. Since she suffers from (1) inadequate perceptual stimulation, (2) a narrow and restrictive view of the world, (3) inadequate verbal facility, and (4) early closure on survival patterns, these limitations may lead to dependency on the part of the child and the use of "magical thinking." Because the mother views curiosity and exploratory movements by the child as hostile acts, defensive behaviors may be developed by the child. Marans and Lourie further hypothesized that the inadequate perceptual stimulation of the mother presents the child with inconsistency which leads him to withdraw from the environment. Some data exist to support these hypotheses. Roll, in describing Iowa families which were classified as deprived and multiproblem, reported:

> The most striking characteristic...is the inconsistency with which the parents manage the children. They rarely promote acceptance of any general principles of behavior or of ethical conduct. It is obvious the children are permitted to behave very differently, for example, when they are at home alone with the mother and when there are visitors. At times the presence of the father demands a different pattern of behavior. The mother often expresses her awareness of other social values by direct means, telling the children that their teachers will expect certain behavior or that the 'cops' will not permit certain acts. The children are more apt to be punished for 'getting caught' or annoying an authority figure than for committing an act which is wrong or generally disapproved. If there is a consistent approach, it would seem to be inculcation of the theory that adult displeasure should be avoided in any given situation. It would appear the children are rarely rewarded for a correct response *per se*. The attitude of the adult present becomes an important variable in every situation. This seems to promote, in the children, attitudes of servility toward authority figures, a reluctance to respond spontaneously, and a general feeling of uncertainty about expectations. (Roll, 1962, quoted in Pavenstedt, 1967, pp. 21-22)

Pavenstedt describes the families in the North Point demonstration project in Boston, who were disorganized and maximally deprived, as possessing initial distrust and suspicion, concrete in their thinking, and more geared to action than to words. She saw them as completely egocentric, impulsive, feeling isolated, and with unclear delineation between self and child. They were also likely on occasion to phantasize about intellectual and cultural interests and ability (Pavenstedt, 1967, p. 38). These comments strike the author as descriptive of what Piaget would call a preoperational child, someone around the age of 4 to 7, except for the distrust and suspicion.

Aspirations for Children

An older study delineating class and caste differences by Davis and Havighurst (1947) indicated that most differences were attributable to class rather than caste. The child rearing practices which we might see as related to scholastic achievement (occupational and educational expectation, age of the assumption of responsibility) yield the following differences: members of the middle class, regardless of race, expect higher academic and occupational status for their children, while within the lower working class more Negro children are expected to go to college than white. Middle class Negro children are expected to assume responsibility earlier than their white peers.

The Davis and Havighurst data were based on interviews with approximately 200 Chicago mothers in the 1940s, and one may inquire whether these findings are still relevant. Wolf's (1964) Environmental Process Variables developed in Chicago in the early 1960s and utilized also by Dave (1963) indicate that the parent's aspirations for the child is one factor related to academic achievement. One might infer that lower class children, in families studied by Davis and Havighurst, with lower educational and scholastic aspirations set for them, might achieve below their middle class counterparts although, of course, many other factors contribute to academic performance.

Wortis and his colleagues studied a low socioeconomic group in Philadelphia and report:

> Other elements in the environment were preparing the child to take over a lower-class role. The inadequate incomes, crowded homes, lack of consistent familial ties, the mother's depression and helplessness in her own situation, were as important as her child rearing practices in influencing the child's development and preparing him for an adult role. It was for us a sobering experience to watch a large group of newborn infants, plastic human beings of unknown potential, and observe over a five-year period their social preparation to enter the class of the least skilled, least educated, and most rejected in our society. (Wortis *et al.*, 1963, p. 307)

To counterbalance this somewhat dismal view we should again highlight the heterogeneity that exists in what might otherwise be seen as a common culture of poverty. In a study of a small group of Southern Negro and white, small town and rural families who were in the control population of a larger parent education group (Gordon, 1967), Bradshaw (1968) observed in the homes each month for a 9-month period to analyze certain child rearing practices and demographic variables. Although she reports that methods of punishment were fairly uniform and physical, they were usually preceded by verbal warnings. In each of the 19 families observed, nine of the mothers were permissive in tolerating a high degree of activity and a high level of noise, while seven mothers were verbally abusive, and three mothers responded immediately and punitively the instant the child stepped beyond the limit.

There were wide differences in the amount of mothers' verbalization with infants. This was related to sex in that there was a higher rate of mother-boy verbalization interaction than mother-girl verbalization in the homes when the babies were between 3 months and 12 months of age. Of interest is her finding that, "During the nine months of observation and the total of 148 incidences of discipline, reasoning, or explanation as a means of discipline occurred only four times" (Bradshaw, 1968, p. 61). This was not only when the discipline was directed at the infant, but also at older siblings. She reports on the survival power of these families, a factor which often has been overlooked in cataloging the deficits. The single strongest source of power was the family network, mostly from the maternal side. The kinship structure is a source of strength in these homes, although this may be missing as these families migrate to northern urban slums.

Disadvantaged Family Pattern

In general, the research literature seems to suggest that in seriously disadvantaged families there is a pattern of disorganization, inconsistency, low levels of expectations, and a disciplinary pattern which utilizes force either verbally or physically. The cross-cultural literature indicates relationships between child rearing and certain adult patterns. Of particular interest here is the relationship between aggression-anxiety and fear of others and the explanation of illness. For example, if a society is high on aggression-anxiety, it is more likely to explain illness as due to eating something or the casting of verbal spells. If high on dependency, then illness is seen as spirit possession or loss of soul. If high on aggression, then the illness may be due to poison, magical weapons, disobedience, or aggressive wishes (Whiting and Child, 1953). Since many of the compensatory education programs are designed to bring modern medicine, with all of its pills and potions, to the disadvantaged family; reception of parent education and physical examinations may be somewhat chary if there is a strong tradition within the subculture for magical or nonmedical explanations for disease. For example, in the parent education project mentioned above, it was difficult to introduce such a task as having an infant look in the mirror because a spell might be cast; and Bradshaw (1968) reported that almost all of the mothers she studied refused to have a baby's hair cut before his first birthday because of fear that this would impair his speech.

In the New England all-white sample studied by Sears, Maccoby, and Levin (1957), the working class mother was significantly more severe in her punishment for aggression toward parents, her pressure for neatness and orderliness, her strictness about bedtime and noise, and the extent of her demand for instant obedience. On the other hand, more working class than middle class mothers stressed the importance of the child doing well at school, although they did not have aspirations in terms of their children attending college to the same degree as did the middle class mothers.

Poverty Cultures

In *La Vida,* Lewis (1967) paints a picture of the culture of poverty. His portrait of Puerto Ricans living in New York and in San Juan is one of impulsivity, high proneness to violence, matriarchal family organization, and little concern for schooling. It is questionable whether this is either a typical picture of the poor Puerto Rican or of poverty. One may question whether there is a single culture of poverty that cuts across other dimensions such as ethnic, regional, and historical factors.

In the Southwest, for example, Garber (1968), using Wolf's (1964) Environmental Process Characteristics, found consistent differences among Navajo, Pueblo, and rural Spanish parents in regard to the pressures they applied on their respective children. In his report on 53 Navajo, 57 Pueblo, and 52 rural Spanish-American parents of first graders, he found that the rural Spanish rated higher than the Pueblo, who were in turn higher than the Navajo, in exerting pressure for achievement motivation, press for language development, providing opportunities for general learning in the home, and in situations other than school. These three groups were theoretically disadvantaged, yet these sharp differences emerged even within the Indian population which outsiders might naively consider to be homogeneous. Unfortunately, Garber reported standard scores within these three populations, so it is not possible to compare his findings with other groups either from the middle class or disadvantaged. Nevertheless, the Wolf technique offers a way of looking at child rearing influence on intellectual development. His approach was distinctly different from the approach of Sears, Maccoby, and Levin who stressed the nature of interpersonal relationships and the affective climate in the home. Wolf stressed the nature of the cognitive climate. However, both these approaches agree that the home sets the stage, and, through child rearing practices, contributes largely to the child's patterns of intellectual and personality development.

In terms of compensatory education it appears that if there are personality outcomes which relate to family personality patterns, intellectual outcomes which relate to family-child rearing settings, and if these settings are somehow related to caste and class membership; then it should be possible to find normative differences in cognitive development and personality between class and ethnic groups. Given these differences, we then might inquire: "What role can compensatory education play in the improvement of conditions which do not allow the child to develop to his fullest capacity?" However, once we move toward the answer to such a question, it is clear that we are making value decisions rather than purely objective and scientific descriptions on the nature of the child. Let us look now at the effects of this culture on the child.

Effects on Cognition and Language Development

Much of the work in the area of the disadvantaged has been done in describing the intellectual and cognitive performance of the disadvantaged child as it compares to the performance of the so-called advantaged or middle class, white, Anglo-Saxon, Protestant child. Perhaps the best description of the defects of class and ethnic group on intellectual performance is the study by Lesser, Fifer, and Clark (1965). Although they are careful to indicate that the actual mediating variables have not been investigated, their data quite clearly show the interaction of class, ethnicity, and sex upon performance on four measures of intellectual functioning. The verbal, reasoning, number, and space conceptualization scales of Hunter College were given to children in New York City. They found that social class membership, i.e., middle versus lower class, significantly differentiated overall performance on these four scales as did a combination of social class and ethnicity. That is, middle class youngsters generally outperformed lower class youngsters regardless of ethnic group, and middle class youngsters of any ethnic group outperformed lower class youngsters of the same ethnic group. Ethnicity contributed not only to overall performance, but to special patterns of performance across the four scales:

> (a) On Verbal ability, Jewish children ranked first (being significantly better than all other ethnic groups), Negroes ranked second and Chinese third (both being significantly better than Puerto Ricans), and Puerto Ricans fourth. (b) On Reasoning, the Chinese ranked first and Jews second (both being significantly better than Negroes and Puerto Ricans), Negroes third, and Puerto Ricans fourth. (c) On Numerical ability, Jews ranked first and Chinese second (both being significantly better than Puerto Ricans and Negroes), Puerto Ricans third, and Negroes fourth. (d) On Space, Chinese ranked first (being significantly better than Puerto Ricans and Negroes), Jews second, Puerto Ricans third, and Negroes fourth. (Lesser, Fifer, and Clark, 1965, pp. 46-69)

In a follow-up study on Boston children (Stodolsky and Lesser, 1967) both the middle class, lower class pattern found in New York and the Chinese and Negro pattern (no samples of Jewish and Puerto Rican children were available) were maintained.

Fowler (1968), in reporting on longitudinal studies of early stimulation, suggested that there is a clear-cut relationship between giftedness and the experience of early stimulation. He did not find any person of high ability who had not experienced intensive early stimulation. Further, he suggested that giftedness is proportionately distributed among different ethnic groups because of the social psychology of the group, an inference which supports the Lesser study.

Deprivation Index

The Deutsch group at New York University developed a deprivation index which dealt with some of the specifics of socioeconomic status which might contribute to cognitive deprivation. Not all items on the index would respond to a solution of deprivation through compensatory education, but several items are appropriate. They are: (1) the educational aspirational level of the parent for the child (dichotomized into "college or less," and "graduate or professional training"), (2) the extent of dinner conversation (dichotomized into "did not engage in conversation," and "engaged"), and (3) a total number of cultural experiences planned for the coming weekend (dichotomized into "one" or "none") (Deutsch and Associates, 1967, p. 323).

Separate items of the deprivation index, such as motivational aspects, presence of the father, conversation during dinner, number of anticipated cultural activities, correlated as highly with socioeconomic index as they did with the grade reading scores. These correlations were in the neighborhood of .30, so that the index items contributed less than 10% to the variability of reading performance, but nevertheless were indicative of a relationship better than chance. The same order correlations with race and class indicated that it would not be safe to predict from socioeconomic class to the index for any family. That is, a supposedly advantaged home might not provide its child with dinner conversation, cultural experiences, nor set a high level of aspiration for him. Homes in which these experiences occurred might have been classified as low socioeconomic and could be either Negro or white. Generally, however, Deutsch and his associates find that lower class Negro children come into school deficient and lose ground each year. The children coming into the schools studied by the Institute for Developmental Studies are relatively different in their language structure because the homes are far less verbal than the average middle class home. The prevalence of reading retardation is considerably higher in the disadvantaged than in the middle class, a fact that Cynthia Deutsch attributes at least partly to the deprived stimulus field (pp. 153-154). Within the social class group, Deutsch found that children from fatherless homes score lower on IQ tests than those from homes where fathers are present, and that in his New York City sample, intelligence test performance was related consistently to social class membership. Of special significance in this series of studies is that length of time in school only reveals cumulative deficits. This finding must be treated with a little caution because the studies are cross-sectional rather than longitudinal; that is, Deutsch and his associates sampled first graders and fifth graders, rather than studying a child from the time he was in first grade until the time he was in fifth grade.

Green, Hoffman, and Morgan (1967) reviewed the effects of deprivation on cognitive development and concluded that there is a relationship between social class status and intellectual performance across races. However, they did not describe what particular factors of class and caste might contribute to this relationship. In effect, they simply reinforced and reiterated the separate findings reported above.

Family Cognitive Climate

When we turn from the global relationships between class and ethnic membership and academic and intellectual performance, we find that the particular family cognitive climate bears a relationship to child performance. To some degree this information was already indicated in Deutsch's social deprivation index. Several studies which originated at the University of Chicago spell out the particulars. Wolf (1964) developed an interview schedule which he applied to 60 fifth grade children and mothers, and from which he derived 13 scale scores. One of his findings relates closely to Deutsch's position that socioeconomic status is not necessarily highly related to the actual particulars of deprivation. Wolf found that his general index of social class and parent education level was unrelated to the child's intelligence, but that factors on his scale were related. The best predictors were: (1) parental expectation for intellectual achievement, (2) the amount of information the mother had on the child's intellectual development, (3) opportunities provided for enlarging the child's vocabulary, (4) the extent to which parents created situations for learning in the home, and (5) the extent of assistance in learning situations related to scholastic and nonschool activities.

Dave (1963) utilized the same scale and developed an index which demonstrated the relationship between the environmental process variables and subject matter achievement. He found the correlation between his index consisting of the following six items and total fourth grade achievement test scores of +.80. The items are:

(1) Achievement Press—the parents' aspirations for the child and for themselves; their interest in, knowledge of, and standards of rewards for, the child's educational achievement.
(2) Language Models—the quality of parents' language and the standards they expect in the child's language.
(3) Academic Guidance—the availability and quality of educational guidance provided in the home.
(4) Activeness of the Family—the extent and content of indoor and outdoor activities of the family.
(5) Intellectuality in the Home—the nature and quality of toys, and the opportunity provided for thinking in daily activities.
(6) Work Habits in the Family—the degree of routine in home management and the preference for educational activities.

We noted earlier that Garber used the Wolf scale and found significant differences in the index scores between Navajo, Pueblo, and Spanish-American families. When the children in these families were assessed on a variety of cognitive measures, such as the Illinois Test of Psycholinguistic Ability and the Caldwell Preschool Inventory, he found that the Navajo, who had scored lowest on environmental process variables, were also lowest on the ITPA (except for visual motor sequencing), and clearly below the Pueblos and Spanish on the Caldwell Preschool Inventory. The Spanish children were generally superior to the two Indian groups on the Preschool Inventory, except that the Pueblo children matched them on the concept activation-sensory scale. The Pueblo and Spanish children's patterns on the ITPA overlapped on some of the ITPA subscales, but generally the Spanish-American children scored higher on six of the nine subscales and on the full scale. The Pueblo children were equal to them in motor encoding and superior to them in visual-motor sequencing and auditory-vocal sequencing. In general, Garber's (1968) results suggest that the environmental process variables, that is, the particulars of cognitive emotional climate in the home, relate to test performance of first grade children in virtually the same manner that these factors relate to intelligence scores of Chicago fifth graders and subject matter achievement of Chicago fourth graders. The consistent results of Wolf's scale, used across subcultures, makes it an extremely powerful measure for offering suggestions for parental involvement in compensatory education since it appears that most of the items are amenable to education and change.

Bloom (1964) suggested that differences in academic performance may be related to the value placed on school learning by parents and students and the reinforcement of school learning by the home. Students in advantaged homes may be able to see economic returns from education, whereas students in a deprived environment may have difficulty seeing a relationship between school and job. In addition, Bloom indicated that the school environment, particularly the morale and training of the school staff, might account for differences (p. 123).

The above studies have traced the relationships from the grossest level between socioeconomic status and ethnic membership and cognitive development through specific elements in the homes which offer cues for compensatory education. They are all test (or questionnaire)–test studies of an R-R design.

The following studies used observed behavior in families and family effects upon the child. Hess and Shipman (1965) investigated the way in which mothers interacted with their children to see if the mother's language was related to the cognitive development of the child. They found that in a study of 160 Negro mothers and their 4-year-old children there was a relationship between the maternal cognitive style as measured by the Sigel test and child style and performance. These styles were also related to social class within the Negro sample. In another study by the same group (Olim, Hess, and Shipman, 1965) the linguistic structural pattern of the mother was a function of social class. From their several studies they concluded that "The lack of cognitive meaning in the mother-child relationship is a central factor contributing to the problem of the 'culturally disadvantaged' child....We believe that this communication value is a primary factor in the mother-child interaction patterns of the culturally disadvantaged, and that it has far-reaching and punitive effects which retard the child's cognitive development" (Hess and Shipman, 1966, p. 37).

Dyk and Witkin (1965) used interviews with the mother in the home to rate her interaction as interfering or fostering development of differentiation. In their view, the mother "as a person" related to child style. The mother's self-assurance, self-realization, general social relationships, and attitudes of dependence and independence for the child correlated well with the child's differentiation. Differentiation was defined as articulation of experience, analyzing and structuring of both perception and thinking, as sense of separate entity, and structured specialized defenses in 10-year-old youngsters.

Bing (1963) indicated differences in boys' and girls' responses to maternal behavior. She examined 60 fifth graders and classified them into high verbal and low verbal groups. She then used interview and questionnaire techniques with the mother and found that there were significant differences between high and low groups for both sexes on early verbal stimulation, number of story books, participation in meal conversations, criticism for academic achievement (anxiety arousal and cautiousness training). It is interesting to note how closely a number of these factors resemble items on the Wolf scale and Deutsch's Social Deprivation Index. For girls only, Bing found that punishment for poor speech and father's reading time are also differential variables. Low verbal girls had been punished for poor speech; high verbal girls had high scores on father's reading time. In addition to the interview and questionnaire technique, Bing observed the behavior of mothers while the children were faced with certain tasks. Here she found that virtually all the differences between high and low were from the girls, with only helping on nonverbal tasks cutting across sex. The other situational variables, the ones which differentiated between high and low verbal girls were helping, approval, pressure types of variables (p. 639). It seems clear from her study that what the parent (particularly the mother) does makes considerable difference in the performance of the child.

Studies of maternal behavior in the home itself over any period of time are extremely scarce. Practically every investigation reported above used either a questionnaire or interview technique or observed the behavior of the mother in a laboratory setting. In this respect Bradshaw's (1968) study, although confined to a very small sample, offers some interesting clues. She related observed behavior of the mother with her baby from 3 months to 12 months of age with scores on the Griffiths test taken close to the baby's first birthday. She found that boys were disciplined more than girls, but along with this they obtained significantly higher scores on the hand and eye subscale of the Griffiths Mental Development Scale. Although there seemed to be a pattern of mothers engaging in more verbal interaction with their boys, girls scored higher on the speech and hearing subscale. The overall mean of her group on the speech and hearing subscale was 90, so that, even at the end of the first year of life, the group were already below the mean in this area; whereas their eye and hand scores and total scores were above the 100 mark. One problem, of course, is that infant tests do not have a high degree of reliability. As Kagan and Moss indicated, there is a sleeper effect in which maternal behavior observed in the first year may not show up in test scores that soon, but may show up between the ages of 3-10. The Bradshaw study indicated that within a supposedly homogeneous population (N=19) the mothers behaved differentially toward boys and girls on both frequency of verbal interaction and amount of discipline. The correlation between discipline and eye-hand scores in boys may simply reflect the nature of the transaction in which an exploratory, curious child might bring upon himself additional punishment instead of punishment functioning as the antecedent and the score on eye and hand as the consequent.

The problem of measurement in infancy, particularly to detect social class differences, is extremely complex; although we believe that patterns and potentialities are set during this period, differences do not show clearly until later. For example, Golden and Birns utilize a portion of the Cattell Infant Scale and a Piaget Object Permanence Scale developed at the Albert Einstein College of Medicine with children 12, 18, and 24 months of age from three social classes. They found no social class difference in the Negro children from the three classes during the first two years of life.

Through observation and long-term involvement Pavenstedt (1965, 1967) investigated the living conditions of highly disorganized families and reported that, although there was the usual wide range of behavior patterns within the group, the mothers needed to rely on concrete demonstrations in order to translate instructions into action in the very low lower-class families (1965). The children, when they were observed in the nursery school setting, although they had "quite a number of words at their disposal and used them to varying degrees" (1967, p. 71), generally had small vocabularies and communication was frequently effected by means other than the use of language. They had difficulty in using language for problem solving in any abstract fashion. For children who came to the nursery school "there appeared to be little interest in names and properties of objects. Colors, numbers, sizes, shapes, locations, all seemed interchangeable...An interest in books or stories were [sic] minimal or nonexistent" (1967, p. 73). The children had little ability or capacity to generalize and thus were quite limited in the cognitive domain as well as in affect.

The above studies all indicate relationships between life conditions, family life styles, particular maternal behaviors, and the cognitive development of the child. Several of the studies were done on very young children and several on children into the school years. The latter seem to point up that deficits have their origins early in life and increase over time. As Bloom says:

> The effects of the environments, especially of the extreme environments, appear to be greatest in the early (and more rapid) periods of intelligence development, and least in the later (and less rapid) periods of development. Although there is relatively little evidence of the effects of changing the environment on the changes in intelligence, the evidence so far available suggests that marked changes in the environment in the early years can produce greater changes in intelligence than will equally marked changes in the environment at later periods of development. (Bloom, 1964, pp. 88-89)

Language Development and Social Class

The evidence on language development is mainly in the form of relationships between social class membership and language development. John and Goldstein (1964) state that "children *develop* and *test* their tentative notions (hypotheses) about the meanings of words and the structure of sentences chiefly through verbal interaction with more verbally mature speakers" (p. 266). Lower social class families are usually perceived as offering less of a verbal climate in the home than are modal middle class families. On the other hand, as Pavenstedt indicated, these children do have language and as Riessman (1962) has said, it is a mistake to assume that lower class children are not verbal. The differences lie, perhaps, in the structuring of the language rather than its possession.

Language Use

As John and Goldstein (1964) summarize, "The crucial difference between middle-class and lower-class individuals is not in the quality of language but in its *use*" (p. 269). From this point of view, the child who receives insufficient verbal stimulation in early childhood develops a kind of deficiency not only reflected in the characteristics described by Bernstein, but also in his lack of ability to use language cues in the solution of tasks. This view is echoed by Jensen (1967) in his belief that the verbal deficit is the main factor contributing to cognitive disadvantage in lower class children. As one progresses in school, it becomes increasingly important to manipulate language for the solution of problems and for dealing with abstractions. The deficits which have their beginnings in the different use of language in the child's home during his earliest years show up in school and may be related to the cumulative deficits reported not only by Deutsch (1967), but by the Duke University Education Improvement Program (1968) and a variety of studies in school systems throughout the country.

The particular family pattern in early childhood which contributes to this language deficit in the school years is a limited amount and type of verbal interaction of children with adults (Milner, 1951; Raph, 1965; Bernstein, 1961; Walters, Connor, and Zunich, 1964). Again we must emphasize that social class membership is a gross term. The important fact here is the relationship between particular language and communication patterns and activities and the language development of the child. We cannot, however, assume that language activity and abstract patterns are not present in all lower class homes, nor can the assumption be made that all middle class homes provide a desirable language setting. For the purpose of parental involvement, however, attention to language activities in the home is an extremely critical variable.

Effects on Personality Factors

Not only is deprivation measurable by cognitive deficit, but growing up in a disadvantaged home contributes to deficits in the personality or affective domain. Much has been written and said about the effects of being black on one's self-concept (including sex-role identification) and the effects of being disadvantaged on one's self-image. However, a large amount of what has been written has not been validated by careful research but is based upon theory or intuition or questionnaire devices which are open to methodological attack. It seems reasonable that, from all theoretical perspectives, if one's self-concept develops from the evaluations made by significant others toward one early in life, disadvantaged youngsters would feel a loss of self-esteem, and black youngsters in a white society would similarly feel depreciated. If we recognize the weaknesses involved in broad questionnaire techniques and self-report scales, and see the data as offering suggestions rather than fixed answers, we can interpret Coleman's (1966) and Deutsch and associates' findings (1967) as indicative that the urban Negro disadvantaged child tends to see himself with a negative self-image. Deutsch also reports that a considerable number of lower class white children see themselves negatively. There is an interaction of class and race contributing to self-disparagement among school children. A large-scale study of school children in central Florida (Yeatts, 1967; Gordon, 1968), based upon Gordon's assumption that self-concept is not a unidimensional trait but a multifactorial one, indicated a mixed picture of responses on a self report scale by children of Negro and white races from various social classes in grades 3 through 12. In the elementary school, white girls reported themselves as more adequate in relation to teacher and school and in interpersonal relationships than did Negro girls; but Negro girls saw themselves as more adequate than their white peers in terms of acceptance of physical appearance. On the basis of self-report, white elementary school boys appeared to get along better with girls than did Negro boys, but the Negro boys seemed to get along better with other boys than did their white peers. There were no significant racial differences in perception of academic adequacy in the elementary school, but these differences emerged in the junior high school where white girls reported themselves to be more academically adequate than did Negro girls. In this particular self-concept measure, academic adequacy did not emerge as a factor for boys in junior high school. Whites saw themselves as more adequate in interpersonal relationships than their Negro peers in junior high school, but Negro secondary youngsters saw themselves as having better teacher-school relationships in the junior high and better control of emotions and better physical appearance in junior and senior high.

When class was a variable, children and adolescents from professional and managerial homes tended to consistently report themselves in a more positive light than did children and adolescents from other occupational groups. The separate factor scores highlighted the fact that interpersonal adequacy was the area which most clearly differentiated by both race and occupational level. Since this factor more closely resembled a general score, it tends to support the questionnaires of Coleman (1966) and Deutsch and associates (1967).

Specific observation of behavior of disadvantaged youngsters in preschool settings from which inferences about self-concept can be made are rare. Pavenstedt used teachers' reports, daily process recordings, and observations by teachers and psychologists of the behavior of children in nursery school and inferred that the Boston slum children behaved in ways which indicated considerable self-derogation. For example, they would quickly give up on difficult tasks, showed many signs of confusion, referred to themselves in the third person, made deprecating comments about their work, and could not show much joy or pleasure in their activities. Routines were carried out in submissive and obedient fashion without any evidence of satisfaction. They were unable to cope with transitions from one topic to another nor to initiate activities on their own. Any curiosity was lacking in their response to the environment. Pavenstedt concluded that "the children's characteristic relationships to people were need-oriented, distrustful, shallow, and nonspecific" (Pavenstedt, 1967, p. 64). Since we have already described Pavenstedt's view of the parents, we can see a linkage between the family background and this type of severe self-derogation.

Long, Henderson, and Ziller (1967) developed a nonverbal method for assessing children's self-social constructs. This procedure allows one to estimate self-esteem, defined as "value or importance attributed to the self in comparison with others" (p. 204), power identification, and social dependency. Although their sample was extremely small, they found that disadvantaged school beginners in the Delmarva Peninsula were characterized by low self-esteem. The general literature and research data suggest self-depreciation as a result of lower class and/or Negro caste membership.

American Values

Another personality characteristic apparently related to academic performance and social mobility is need achievement. Strodbeck indicated that the following three values, among others, are important for achievement in the American culture: "one, a belief that the world is orderly and amenable to rational mastery; that, therefore, a person can and should make plans which will control his destiny; two, a willingness to leave home to make one's way in life; three, a preference for individual rather than collective credit." In addition to these is "the necessity to believe that man can improve himself through education" (Strodbeck, 1958, pp. 186-187). As we have said earlier, no one gross variable such as social class should be used as an explanatory factor. This holds true for achievement motivation as well as for cognitive and language development or self-concept. Rosen (1961) concluded that we need to look at the interaction of socioeconomic class, family size, and birth order, but that generally it seems clear that there is a relationship between lower socioeconomic class membership and lower need achievement. Freeberg and Payne (1967) pointed out that some of the data on child rearing were sex linked; that is, there were relationships between maternal behavior and daughter's need achievement. Support for this conclusion can be found in the longitudinal study of Kagan and Moss. They concluded that "...knowledge of the sex and social class of a child allows one to make an unusually large number of predictions about his future interests, goals, vocational choice, and dependent, aggressive, sexual, and mastery behaviors" (Kagan and Moss, 1962, p. 270). The differential treatment of the mother for a boy and girl might be related to the mother's striving for intellectual competency which brought her into a conflict with her daughter but into harmony with her son in the early years and led to achievement motivation for both in the school years. It might be that these findings can be related to Strodbeck's notion of seeing education as offering opportunities for self-improvement.

Externality

Strodbeck's statement concerning the belief in an orderly world can be related to Rotter's (1966) concept of internal versus external control of expectancy and reinforcement. Coleman (1966) found that Negro youngsters tended to see themselves as more externally controlled than white youngsters in the same social class; that is, the Negro child tended to see himself more a victim of his fate. Battle and Rotter used a projective form of the Rotter I-E Scale and reported that lower class Negro children in grades 6 through 8 were more external than all other groups. "These results suggest that one important antecedent of a generalized expectancy that one can control his own destiny is the perception of opportunity to attain the material rewards offered in a culture" (Battle and Rotter, 1963, p. 488). There is, however, another explanation. Freijo and Gordon (1968) used an adaptation of the I-E Scale for disadvantaged mothers and found that Negro mothers were significantly more external in their views of the world than were white mothers of the same social class in rural and small town Florida. What we may have is another example of one generation passing its difficulties on to the next.

This writer suggested earlier that Pavenstedt's description of her parents resembled a preoperational level of functioning according to Piaget. Since the mother was operating at such a level, it might be inferred that it is extremely difficult for children to surpass the mother because of the home situation she creates. When the parent behaves like a child, then obviously the child's growth is stunted. Similarly, if a mother's views of the world are external and she sees herself as a victim of fate, her ability and desire to intervene directly as a teacher in the life of her children and to manipulate the environment (in fashions suggested by the Wolf, Deutsch, and Freeberg material as contributing to intellectual growth) may be seriously limited. The externality of the mother may be contributing to the externality of the child.

For example, the Fels longitudinal group (although no socioeconomic data are given) studied parents on a combination of a questionnaire and a rating scale completed on the basis of home visits over time. This was related to children's belief of external-internal control on the Intellectual Achievement Responsibility Inventory developed at Fels. They found that there were high correlations between general babying, general protectiveness, affectionateness, and direction of criticism for boys and their internality; and general babying, general protectiveness, affectionateness toward girls and their internality; that is, parent behaviors characterized as warm, praising, protective, and supportive were correlated positively with internal control scores (Katkovsky, Crandall, and Good, 1967). In order to be warm, praising, protective, and supportive, however, a parent's own needs have to be met and much of the data reported above would suggest that her own emotional stress is a problem for the disadvantaged mother.

An Israeli study of the sociodramatic play of preschool children (Smilansky, 1968) indicates that the quality of the affectional relationship in the home is an insufficient predictor of the ability of the child to engage in imaginative and dramatic play. We noted above that Pavenstedt found that the children in Boston were unable to relate effectively with each other in spontaneous and open ways. Smilansky indicates that disadvantaged (children from non-European-Jewish families) differed from advantaged (children from European-Jewish families) in their abilities to play in imaginative ways. She suggests that the differences lie in the specific role of the mother as teacher. In this respect her conclusions resemble Bernstein's and Hess and Shipman's view of the mother as a purveyor of the culture through language and instruction. Her advantaged mothers saw themselves as teachers; her disadvantaged mothers did not. The parental role, from her point of view, is critical. What differentiated the advantaged from the disadvantaged home is: the provisions for conditions encouraging sociodramatic play, such as friends to play with, toys, place, time, etc.; direct teaching by the mother in a playful manner; through action and words, teaching the child to engage in make-believe; by providing for normal emotional relationships (necessary but not sufficient) or offering language that moves toward abstraction; and providing encouragement for positive social relations with both parents and peers.

In other words, the social development of the child is a result of a mix of cognitive and affective conditions, just as we saw earlier that the intellectual development of the child was also a product of such a mix. We may conclude, then, that the effective family–that is, the family that promotes the intellectual, social, and personal development of the child–provides a setting in which there is a mixture of a warm, positive emotional climate combined with an atmosphere of teaching and expectation in the intellectual domain. Perhaps Caldwell's statement can serve here as a summary:"...one might infer that the optimal learning environment for the young child is that which exists when (a) a young child is cared for in his own home (b) in the context of a warm and nurturant emotional relationship (c) with his mother (or a reasonable facsimile thereof) under conditions of (d) varied sensory and cognitive input" (Caldwell, 1967, p. 19).

Implications for Parental Participation

We have seen that the family is a key factor in the learning and development of the child. Children who are disadvantaged tend to come from homes in which parental controls are inconsistent or harsh, in which

Table 1 Family Factors Associated With Intellectual and Personality Behavior and Development

Investigators Indicating This Characteristic as Criterial

Home Characteristic[1] (home condition, parental behavior, parental belief or personality)	Bernstein	Bing	Bronfenbrenner	Coleman	Davis & Havighurst	Deutsch et al.	Dyk & Witkin	Freeberg & Payne	Gordon, Bradshaw, Friejo	Hess & Shipman	Honzik	John & Goldstein	Kagan & Moss	Katkovsky et al.	Lesser et al.	Lynn & Sawrey	Marans & Lourie	Mischel	Moynihan	Pavenstedt et al.	Rietz & Rietz	Roll	Sears et al.	Smilansky	Strodbeck	Whiting & Child	Wolf, Dave, Garber	Wortis et al.
Demographic Factors																												
1. Crowded homes						X			X												X							X
2. Ethnicity				X	X				X						X			X	X									
3. Father present			X			X					X					X		X	X									
4. Housing, quality						X																						
5. Income											X																	X
6. Social class	X			X	X	X			X	X		X	X		X		X	X					X					
Parental Cognitive Factors																												
7. Academic guidance								X													X						X	
8. Cognitive operational level, style							X		X	X										X								
9. Cultural activities planned						X		X																			X	
10. Direct instruction of child								X													X			X			X	
11. Educational aspirations		X			X	X		X			X												X		X		X	
12. External resources (nurs., kg.)						X		X													X							
13. Intellectuality of home (books, etc.)		X						X													X						X	
14. Verbal facility	X	X			X			X		X		X					X				X						X	
15. Verbal frequency (eg. dinner con.)		X				X		X	X			X									X						X	
Parent Emotional Factors																												
16. Consistency of management																	X				X	X						X
17. Differentiation of self							X													X								
18. Disciplinary pattern								X	X		X											X	X			X		
19. Emotional security, self-esteem							X										X			X								X
20. Impulsivity																				X								
21. Internal control, belief in				X					X																X			
22. Protectiveness, babying of child					X								X	X									X					
23. Trusting attitude																				X								
24. Willingness to devote time to child								X																				
25. Work habits																					X						X	

[1] Not all of these are discussed in the text in relation to any particular investigator or investigative team.

the mother lacks emotional strength and cultural skill, in which there seems to be a lack of verbal stimulation and direct teaching, and in which the behavior and thought of the parents are characterized as concrete and impulsive; and, in effect, childlike (see Table 1). We have seen also that there is no one-to-one correspondence between social class or ethnic membership and intellectual and social deprivation, but that, generally, children of poverty are more likely to be reared in homes that fit the above description. It seems quite clear that the early years, before our usual introduction of formal schooling, are vital (Hunt, 1964; Bloom, 1964; Gray and Miller, 1967). However, when we turn to the question of what programs for parents of very young children should be like, we run into a paucity of research data and even clear theoretical positions. The rest of this section and the next two chapters will reflect this dilemma. For example, in a basic book on education for the disadvantaged (Passow, Goldberg, and Tannenbaum, 1967) Katz states, "Programs should be instituted for contacting parents and helping them to understand what they can do to prepare children for schooling, and to foster achievement once children are in school" (p. 151). But this is the only reference to parent participation in the whole book!

It has been suggested by Hunt (1964), as well as others, that we may be able to learn from Montessori about some specific techniques for teaching parents to work with their young children. Rietz and Rietz (1967, p. 134) describe some Practical Life Exercises which parents can teach young children, such as learning to concentrate, developing a positive personality, establishing coordination, experiencing the joy of a purposeful act. These exercises and their general description of a Montessori-prepared home illustrate a heavy middle class bias that would require changing the culture in these homes. For example, they describe as typical features of many Montessori "prepared" homes the following characteristics: quiet much of the time, child has some space of his own, opportunity to concentrate, questioning encouraged, adults speak clearly using good English, the presence of reference books, magazines, newspapers, hobby kits, models, and learning games. In a Montessori atmosphere adults encourage and help with homework, the child has materials to help with housekeeping and care of self, the family eats planned meals together and manners are taught. There are times for family activities and trips with the child, the child is in bed at a reasonable hour, the child has some furnishings of his own, sufficient light, warmth, etc., and the adults act as exemplars (meaning here in contrast to exposing the child to gambling, drinking parties, and quarreling) (Rietz and Rietz, 1967, p. 154). While it is true that some of the criteria they present relate to the Wolf and Deutsch indices presented earlier, one can nevertheless envision the difficulties in creating such homes for a number of severely disadvantaged children. In addition we face the question of whether the criteria, which reflect the middle class tradition so heavily, are really the correct ones for overcoming educational deprivation. These standards certainly overlook whatever may be the already developed survival techniques and strengths of the poverty family as well as some of the realities of low income.

School System Initiative

Several educators have taken the position that the school system must take the initiative in the creation of compensatory education and parental involvement. For example, the position has been taken that the home should be the place for compensatory education, but if it cannot be done there, then the school must do it (Bloom, Davis, and Hess, 1965). Fusco claims that, "Generally socially disadvantaged parents are interested in their children's education and are eager for them to succeed in school; their seeming indifference and apathy reflect their lack of knowledge regarding the nature of the demands the school will place on their children, and their lack of skills concerning ways in which they can prepare their children for the transition from home to school, and reinforce and support school efforts made on behalf of their children" (1966, p. 159). He therefore concludes that the school must take the initiative. But we know that disadvantaged parents often view the school with skepticism and pessimism and are not interested in imposition of school values and attitudes upon their way of life. There are differences in values and patterns of living between the middle class school teacher and the lower class family that must be bridged. In addition, we have seen that these parents are often pictured as feeling powerless to effect change in their own circumstances so that although the school may have to take the initiative, how and why the school does it, will affect its success. Because of the kinds of materials presented above, educators often feel that the disadvantaged parent is incapable of working with her own child in ways that will enhance the child's development. But as Liddle and Rockwell pointed out, "Adults do not have to be well educated to be intellectually stimulating to young children....The parents of the disadvantaged can learn to play the important functions of showing, telling, and listening for their children" (1966, p. 399). They suggested, therefore, the need for home visits, not only of the old type in which teachers studied the home so that they could take into account home factors in classroom learning; but also those in which teachers leave learning-related materials at home. They suggested that a home-school liaison person be connected to the school who will give parents specific suggestions and urge parents to ask questions of the child about school. Such a program reflects the desire to have the parent accept the school model as correct and learn to implement it at home. Other views, which we will mention below, assume that the school may be incorrect in its model and that parental involvement requires changing the school rather than changing the family.

Ethnic Differences

We noted earlier that Lesser, Fifer, and Clark (1965) found specific ethnic pattern differences in New York City and that Stodolsky and Lesser (1967), in a replication study in Boston, found essentially the same patterns there. These investigators suggested *first* that we need to investigate the "sociocultural environments to determine which aspects of these environments are most salient of the development of different patterns of abilities" and that *second* we need to investigate "diverse mental abilities designed to identify further and isolate such abilities, to determine the relations among them and their relative contributions to the child's intellectual functioning" (Lesser, Fifer, and Clark, 1965, pp. 79-80). Stodolsky and Lesser further suggest (1967) that the differential ethnic patterns must be taken into account in the design of instructional materials within the school. But this raises the question of whether schools should capitalize on the strengths of children or make up for their weaknesses. Further, since it was found that the main differences were between middle class and lower class families, changing the social class position characteristics (particularly of Negro families) would presumably lead to the greatest comparable change in performance on mental tests. As they stated, "We have argued from our data that providing a lower-class family with what a middle-class family has–better jobs, education, and housing–will produce levels of mental ability resembling those of middle-class children" (Stodolsky and Lesser, 1967, p. 587). But they are quite clear in stating that we still must clarify what it is in the home that makes the difference, and further that we must take into account the characteristics from the individual child.

The solutions of better jobs, better education, and better housing suggest that all of the particular measures on indexes would be taken care of automatically. To some degree their conclusion resembles the Moynihan view that the essential need is for handling the economic and housing problems along with education. Compensatory programs run by school systems as well as most university based programs completely beg the issue, if Moynihan offers the correct solution, because they deal only with the education aspect and fail to mount a massive attack on the job and housing fronts. Of course, it is too much to expect that school based programs can be comprehensive. The suggestion, then, would have to be made that multi-agency programs offer the best hope.

Parent Participation

But what does this mean? What does participation or involvement of the parent mean? It has been said that we do *to* the poor and *for* the poor but rarely work *with* the poor. It is almost as though educators were behaving as missionaries, carrying the way and the truth to the poor benighted heathen. This *first* view of participation or involvement perhaps means that parents will either be an audience getting the message and listening to the word, or will be involved as bystanders and observers visiting the school, or the day care center, or nursery, to see what the wise, professional teacher does. Levin, in a Follow Through Conference at Kansas City (1968), categorized this view as "educational imperialism."

Second, when we move one step higher and seek to involve the parent as a direct and active teacher of the child, what is it we will ask him or her to teach? What suggestions and changes will we make? Here, what we have learned from the variety of questionnaire studies and observations offers us a number of suggestions (see Table 1). But again, they reflect the bias of changing the family pattern to meet the schools' and professionals' concepts of what the home ought to be.

At a *third* level, when parents are involved in active roles in the school as aides and volunteers, the major thrust is the change of the parent rather than the change in the school. The goal would seem to be to change or help the child, or to change or help the parent. If change is the goal, changes in skills and attitudes should be effected. Implications of these four types of participation and involvement are: (1) audience; bystander-observer, (2) teacher of the child, (3) volunteer, and (4) trained worker. All imply a change in the value system of the parent. Is parental participation patronizing and another type of "the man" or the British Raj or "the white man's burden?" Or is such participation designed to provide support and skill for goals already set? Since parents and professionals differ markedly with regard to attitudes on family life and children, although they both are for "education," how much interference, such as the notion of changing the structure of the Negro family, is determined by those concerned with parental involvement? When does information become intrusion, and how do we draw the line?

A fifth approach to parental participation and involvement has been offered. This is to honor the right of the parents to control the school board and school system. Although the rural and small town observer may view this as revolutionary when it is proposed for the central city parent, it really gives the latter only the same rights already held by the former, that is, the right to elect a school board, to participate in decision making, and to help set the tax burden. Approaches toward this have been made in the OEO-type programs which require that community people be well represented on advisory boards. But the clearest view of what is emerging is in the effort in New York City to decentralize the schools and reduce the district to a manageable size. Campbell (1968) reminds us that transferring responsibility in New York City from the large-scale, single board for the whole city to small districts is not easy. He quoted Kenneth Clark as saying, we must "put our heads together to find a joint plan to protect our children from a bankrupt educational system that does not protect or educate them, and from a piece of legislation that continues the present ambiguity and chaos" (p. 13). When we move to local control this means that the parents rather than being the recipients become the participants in decision making about curriculum, textbooks, instruction, selection of teachers, and perhaps even the training of teachers.

Parent participation in compensatory education runs the gamut of these five levels of involvement and it is far too soon to be able to say which models work best under what given conditions. Levin (1967) indicates, for example, that the success of the Mississippi Head Start program might be due to the involvement of the parents in so much of the control and decision making. When parents were asked, and when it was clear that their answers were utilized, the parents spoke up. This was explained by "...at the public school possibly the parents are considered ignorant people who must be taught. Who must improve. Who must be trained and uplifted by the enlightened school people. At the center possibly the parents are considered wise people who must take initiative. Who want to improve. Who must tell what they want and need for their children and themselves and are working hard to fulfill their own dreams" (p. 373). Perhaps the self-fulfilling prophecy is operating here. When parents are expected to play vital roles, somehow they are able to make it.

Parent Program Guide

The OEO programs, both for Head Start and the Parent-Child Centers, are based upon the assumption that parents are not to be seen as simply recipients of aid, but active partners in the child development process. For example, in Cooke's report to Sargent Shriver, parent participation programs were to be designed to:

(1) assist in planning the program of the center: its hours, location, program, etc.

(2) help in acquainting the neighborhood with the services for children offered by the center.

(3) deepen understanding on the part of the center's professional staff of the life of the neighborhood.

(4) participate in the parent education program of the center which should, in part, help parents deal with general and specific problems of child-rearing and home-making.

(5) provide supervision for other children of parents who are assisting in the center or are visiting the center as part of a parent education program.

(6) fill many of the nonprofessional, sub-professional, and semi-professional roles necessary for accomplishing the above purposes and for the general conduct of the program such as:

- a. teacher aides for
    - 1. liaison with parents
    - 2. escorting children to and from the center
    - 3. conducting small groups of three to five children on trips
    - 4. adding specialized skills like singing, playing musical instruments, painting
    - 5. general assistance
- b. constucting and repairing equipment, toys, etc.
- c. maintenance
- d. cooking and serving food (Cooke, undated, p. 5)

In the description of the Parent-Child Centers (circa, 1967) the following parent activities are indicated: understanding of child development, competence as family managers, skills essential to making a living, development of self-confidence and expanding the self-image of parents, intra-familial relationships between husband and wife and between parents and children, the definition of the male role within the family, and social service to the family. All of these activities may be viewed as part of the missionary orientation, plus the following, which may reflect the partnership orientation: (1) increase the family's participation in neighborhood and community by helping them become familiar with resources, (2) learn how to take advantage of the opportunities available, and (3) stimulate the family to become participating, responsible, and significant members of the neighborhood and community through active participation in the Parent-Child Center program (pp. 9-22).

In this last section we have indicated some of the issues and problems and some of the recommendations. Now we turn to a review of programs attempting parent participation in compensatory education.

2

UNIVERSITY RESEARCH PROGRAMS

Compensatory education programs have originated as university research projects and as efforts by local school systems or community agencies. This chapter will discuss the university research projects. Shaefer's home teaching project, the National Institute of Mental Health program, is included as university research because it is not easily classified in any other place. Other university and college research projects are under way in a variety of settings using designs analogous to those described. To some degree the selection of these programs reflects the difficulties in information retrieval and the newness of the field. For example, there are programs involving parents at Kansas University, Florida State University, San Francisco State College, and a comprehensive early intervention program at the University of North Carolina. However, no research data were available to the author at the time of writing. Therefore, program descriptions listed should be viewed as selective rather than comprehensive.

Descriptions of Projects

Boston University Project

The North Point Project was developed by Boston University–Boston City Hospital Guidance Clinic in the Department of Child Psychiatry, School of Medicine, and covered the years 1960 to 1965 under the direction of Dr. Eleanor Pavenstedt. The goals were defined as a concern for the total personality development of children and the provision of early intervention as a means of helping children toward mental health. Program personnel believed that cognitive development could not be separated from the total growth of the child, and that any program had to support overall developmental growth in both the personality and the intellectual realm in order to help children build desirable or satisfactory lives. They worked with 10 white and three Negro families with a total of 45 preschool children, of whom 21 were in their special nursery school. These families were multiproblem families, with a long history of disorganization and failure in their backgrounds. Most of the families were on welfare sometime during the program. Discussed here will be aspects of the program which relate to parental involvement.

The initial approach to parents for the purpose of soliciting attendance of their children to the nursery school was made through a family worker (professional). This step took time and often included a project party or a home visit by the teacher with the family worker. Other parents made school visits with the family worker. The families were not self-motivated, because, for them, sending a child to school imposed a set of demands rather than freedom. There were considerable delays between the time of supposed acceptance and the actual participation of the child in school. Transportation was provided.

Once the child was in school, the teacher was responsible for maintaining continuing contacts. She engaged in home visits, handled the transportation, and provided the daily bridge. An effort was made to support the parental role by requiring completion of sets of forms, etc., so that the school would not be seen as taking over the parent role. Both parents and teachers had to learn to work with each other, and ways had to be found to enable the mother to use the teacher's knowledge so that the mother grew in her mothering role. In keeping with this psychodynamic view, the project description stressed the emotional factors involved in working with parents and children.

The basic parental involvement procedure, beyond the almost daily contact between the teacher and mother, was case work. The family work was carried on by social workers and a public health nurse. There were several assumptions: "(1) The family workers would provide the bridge between the families and members of the other disciplines and all the group activities. (2) The establishment of a relationship to the parents was a prerequisite to family involvement and subsequent work directed toward problem solving focused on the interests of the children. (3) The families' understanding and perception of the allied disciplines would emerge out of the family work and become consolidated at whatever point actual involvement of the various disciplines took place. (4) The family workers and other project personnel would become an ideal extended family. (5) The milieu of the project's activities would provide an artificial but real community experience for the families" (Pavenstedt, 1967, p. 257). The sequential goals of the project with mothers was to: *first,* get the family involved; *second,* to achieve some order; *third* to help the parents, especially the mother, move away from her own needs enough to be concerned with her child; *fourth,* to enable the parents to become part of the project community, and *fifth,* to help them achieve a place in the larger community. To assist in reaching these goals, the staff also consisted of child psychiatrists, social psychologists, and anthropologists.

The worker began with a home interview, first attempting to establish a relationship of trust, and later to assist in the creation of an orderly home by serving as a model for imitation and identification. Through language, he taught such cognitive tasks as naming, identifying, classifying. Again, attention is drawn to the idea developed in Chapter 1 that these families were operating at a Piaget preoperational level of thought. It is interesting to note that the case worker was, in effect, teaching the mothers how to make a transition from preoperational to concrete to formal modes of thought. There was no "formal curriculum" of parent education, and the usual social case work procedures seemed to be the main techniques. Parental involvement rested predominantly with the teacher and the social case worker. The former was concerned with the child; the latter was concerned with the parents.

Peabody College Project

The Early Training Project at George Peabody College, begun in 1961 and still continuing, focused on the cognitive aspects of development in contrast to the psychiatric orientation of the Boston study. The families in this project were all Negro, who lived in a town of 25,000 in the South. Using housing, education, and occupation of parents as criteria, disadvantaged families were selected for participation. A total of 61 children (43 in experimental groups) was chosen. The goals were to intervene in such a way as to influence both cognitive development and motivation which might affect later school performance. The conditions in the home for which it was felt that compensation was needed were: a restricted language code, the general pattern of adult-child interaction, the disorganization of perceptual stimuli, the necessity for the mother to live on a day-to-day basis, the lack of time and space orientation in the home, and the use of physical rather than verbal means of control.

The program consisted of two phases: a summer phase of a group program for children, and a winter phase of home visitation. We are concerned only with the second phase. The home visitor was a professional certified teacher. During the 10-week summer program she was a liaison between school and home. She arranged for parents to visit the school, explained the activities to them, and emphasized the importance of home follow-up of school activities. Further, she arranged for physical examinations and provided the teachers with additional information about the children.

During the first two winters (September through May, 1962-64) scheduled meetings of 45 minutes a week were arranged at the convenience of the family. The first goal was to have the mother see herself as teacher and involve her as an active participant. Klaus and Gray described the goal, "This was no easy task, because most of the parents were experiencing the helplessness that so frequently characterizes deprived populations. Many of the homes had no father present; consequently the mother had to work at low paying jobs for long hours. In addition she had the responsibility for the care of a large family, without many of the conveniences of middle-class homes. As a result, most of the mothers carried responsibilities that sapped their energies, both physical and emotional; thus, any requests that demanded additional time and energies would seem overwhelming" (Klaus and Gray, 1967, p. 18). This difficulty will be reiterated in the description of the Florida program.

The work with the mothers consisted of (1) supplying *Ebony*, (2) making them aware of other activities and opportunities, such as adult education, employment, and housing, (3) using positive reinforcement for any behavior of the parent showing concern for the welfare of the child, (4) requesting parents to plan time for actually training the child, (5) using role playing to help the parent use books with children, (6) assisting in food preparation, and (7) suggesting trips, such as to the library. In the third year of home visitation, when the children were in regular school programs (September 1964 - May 1965), the home visitor arranged biweekly contacts and shifted her work more toward home-school liason activities. She reported to the parents on what was occurring in school and to the teachers on what she knew about the homes. 'Unfortunately, for the project, best rapport was established with the teacher enrolling the fewest project and most control children, the teacher enrolling the bulk of the T_1 (first experimental group)[1] children was the least cooperative of the three. Such problems cannot always be avoided in field research" (Klaus and Gray, 1967, p. 20). The program, with modifications, is still continuing, and results and implications will be discussed in later chapters. The essential features, then, were a combination of a cognitive orientation, preschool program and follow-up into regular school, accompanied by a systematic home visitor program using professionals to assist the mother in (1) supplementing the child's educational experience and (2) in learning to cope with her own environment.

University of Illinois Project

Two other programs with somewhat similar goals but different sets of procedures were the University of Illinois and Howard University preschool projects. The Illinois project was specifically designed to study the effect that short-term parent training in instruction from a cognitive framework would have on intellectual and language development of the child. The training program here was only for parents, and there was no preschool program for the children. The basic hypothesis was that the training of parents would yield greater gains in measured intelligence and linguistic skills for their children than children would make whose mothers were not so trained. Thirteen parents (all Negro) matched with another group of 13 in a control group, attended 11 weekly 2-hour sessions at an elementary school. They were paid $3 a session. Three teachers experienced in preschool education were the instructors. Average attendance was eight parents per meeting; absences seemed to be legitimate in most cases. At each meeting the mothers made educational materials from inexpensive materials or items found in their homes, and time was spent helping them to understand ways to use the materials.

If a mother were absent, her home was visited during the week; if she were present at the meeting, home visits took place every 2 weeks. These home visits were designed so that the teacher could become acquainted with the home and the child, could demonstrate techniques and better select activities, observe how the parent worked with the child, answer questions, and reinforce what had been presented in the group. The children ranged in age from 3 years 3 months to 4 years 3 months at the beginning of the program so that the materials emphasized tasks appropriate for this age. The language development program derived from the Osgood model from which the ITPA was constructed. "Specifically, the teachers were concerned with helping parents work with their children to improve their ability to understand what they hear and what they see, to relate elements of spoken language and to respond vocally with the appropriate answer, to relate or associate symbols presented through visual and auditory channels, to express themselves vocally and motorically, to acquire the grammatical and syntactical construction of language, to integrate parts presented visually into wholes, and to improve their auditory and visual memory" (Karnes, et. al., 1966, p. 40). The parents were taught how to read to their children and how to formulate questions related to the concerns expressed above. In addition, artwork with crayons, finger plays and songs, puzzles, puppet play, drums, blocks, etc., were used.

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[1] Parentheses are this author's.

The mothers were also taught activities to assist in development of classification and number concepts. At the last meeting the children and parents were taken on a field trip to the university farms.

In essence, this program was similar to the Peabody program in that it focused on helping the mother to serve as teacher. The essential difference was the direct involvement of the parent in the creation and utilization of teaching materials. This is far removed from the case work orientation of the Boston project and one step up the line of parental involvement from the home visitor program of Peabody.

Howard University Project

In 1964, Howard University in Washington, D.C., inaugurated a program for children beginning at age 3. Its major objective, in addition to helping the children involved was "To help the children's parents participate in and contribute to their children's enlarged experience and to widen their own interests and knowledge so that they might make use of the facilities and opportunities available in their neighborhoods and in their larger communities" (Kittrell, 1968, p. 135). Thirty-eight children, 15 boys and 23 girls, participated in the nursery school program. The families were all Negro and from a low income neighborhood. "Over three-fourths of the families in both groups had lived in the District of Columbia for ten years or more. About two-thirds of the mothers in both groups were living with their husbands at the time of the study. However, the father was the sole support in less than 45% of the families....Housing conditions in both groups were usually poor and crowded. The median number of persons per room was three in the families of the experimental group and two in the families of the comparison group" (Fuschillo, 1968, p. 141).

As in the Boston program, teachers visited the homes of all the children before the nursery school opened and conducted interviews with the parents. Each child then visited the school with a parent or an older sibling before admission, once for a physical examination and a second time for psychological testing. The children were bussed to school and spent a full day. Again, our concern is not with the program for children, but with the program for parents. Parents were seen as essential providers of information and support for the project. For example, Kittrell said, "To plan appropriately, they (the staff) needed to know many of the things the parents could tell them about the children. They also needed the parents' cooperation in getting the children ready for school each day....They needed the parents' permission to take children to a clinic....They needed the parents' help in carrying out the activities of the nursery school" (Kittrell, 1968, pp. 137-138). Conversely, teachers recognized that they would provide help for parents in learning ways (through observation and discussion) that they could promote the development of their children. Therefore, a cooperative team relationship had to be built over a period of time. As in the case of the Boston and Peabody projects, initial receptions were not always favorable. Life situations built up over a long period of time along with attitudes toward school had to be overcome. For example, "Things did not always go smoothly...some of the mothers seemed to regard the staff members with mistrust and even hostility...the staff members learned that they had to earn the goodwill of the parents and that they had to make it easy for the parents to understand the motives behind their actions" (Kittrell, 1968, p. 138).

The program consisted of group meetings held at the school or in the neigborhood in which the parents worked together to make things for the school and discussed various child care concerns such as diet, dress, and ways to answer children's questions. Neighborhood meetings, at which responsibility for refreshments shifted to parents, emerged over time. The second phase was individual parent visits to the schools to observe children and to participate as volunteers to help the teacher.

In the second year more efforts were made to involve parents in the activities of the school. They helped on trips, read to children, took them for walks, and helped build and work on materials. The parents developed two projects themselves: first, a public library visitation program, and second, an exchange of clothing, books, and toys.

In comparison with the Illinois and Peabody projects there was no organized curriculum for parents beyond involvement and the utilization of parental questions and concerns as they emerged as guidelines for the teacher and other staff members in providing information for the parents. Even the curriculum for the children was built out of observation of their behavior in contrast to the clear-cut, specific tasks used in curriculums in the Illinois or Florida programs. The nursery school resembled the traditional or stereotyped views of the "good" nursery school for young children regardless of class. The parent program resembled that of the parent cooperative nursery school plus the special features of home visitation and a learn-to-sew program that perhaps might be considered functions of the social class background of the parents.

Syracuse University Project

The use of a center for infants and children as the appropriate place for early compensatory education is being explored in the Syracuse project. The major differences between this program and those described above are the comprehensive care element and the downward extension of programs for children. The programs previously described as preschool did not reach below age 3. The programs now to be described (beginning with the Syracuse project) all focus on children below age 3. The aim of the Syracuse children's center staff is to develop a research and demonstration day care center for very young children. Children from both lower and middle classes and white and Negro races attend the center where the youngest child is 6 months of age. In 1967 there were 85 children enrolled of whom 28 were below age 1 (Caldwell and Richmond, 1967). The center has a health program, an educational program, and a welfare program. Again, our concern is not with the center activities, which are conducted by professionals working directly with children, but with the ways in which parents are involved. The school's educational program is heavily cognitive with a basic orientation in the work of Hunt and Piaget, along with the use of positive reinforcement procedures. There seems to be no direct attempt to involve parents in teaching their children, in the development of materials, or in the education of the parent in home reinforcements, although Caldwell and Richmond say, "One of the center's aims is to help devise ways of translating that concern (of the low-income parent for his child's education) into effective action" (1967, p. 32).

Although there is no organized program for the involvement of parents, Caldwell and Richmond report that parents are strongly supportive but that, "The extent to which we have successfully *involved* parents in the educational program (except where this involvement is a part of more intensive case work) is limited" (1967, p. 31). There are interviews with the parents as a part of the social services but these resemble the casework approach of the Boston project rather than the educational approach of Peabody, Illinois, or Florida.

NIMH Project

Two programs are distinctly home teaching programs, although they differ in several particulars. The NIMH program of Earl Schaefer and Paul Furfey used home tutoring by middle class tutors of infants from age 15 months to age 3 years. There was no attempt to teach the mothers any set body of skills or to involve them in the tutoring activity except as observers. Observational data were collected by the tutors. The tutors worked in 30 homes, an hour a day, 5 days a week, and emphasized verbal stimulation. The work is being conducted in one of the most disadvantaged sections of Washington, D.C. No set curriculum was organized ahead of time, but the tutors developed lessons based upon their trial-and-error experiences in the homes. No notions of sequence of tasks, developed before tutoring, are indicated. This is in sharp contrast to the program that follows.

University of Florida Project

The Florida Parent Education Program is a home tutoring program designed to teach the mother a set of specific, sequential tasks to use with her infant beginning at age 3 months and continuing through 2 years. The basic orientation of this program emphasizes that the earliest years of life are critical and has as its goals: (1) the development of a career program for disadvantaged women to serve as Parent Educators and Child Development Workers, (2) the education of mothers in specific techniques for cognitive and verbal stimulation accompanying a warm interpersonal relationship, and (3) the provision for infants of an environment to provide a basis for effective growth. The essential orientation for the cognitive tasks is the Piagetian view of the importance of the sensory-motor period, in the intellectual development of the child. The language program is based on the orientation of Basil Bernstein. It presents the mother, as part of the learning tasks for the child, with a model of a more elaborate language code than she might otherwise use.

The program has several steps: First, the development of a specific curriculum in advance of training based upon the theoretical positions above; second, the employment and preservice training of a period of about 5 weeks of 15 women from the same social class as the mothers to be served; and third, a field program of home visitation begun in October 1966 and continuing to date. Home visits are planned to occur once a week and to last approximately an hour. During each home visit the parent educator presents specific tasks for the mother to learn. She utilizes role playing and demonstration techniques to train the mother. She also assesses a number of home variables and the progress of the mother and child on tasks previously presented.

The sample consists of mothers whose babies were born at the University Health Center and who were placed in the economic classification of "indigent" by the hospital standards. Babies were screened by the obstetrics staff in terms of the following criteria, "Single birth, no breach or caesarian delivery, no complications to mother or infant, no evidence of mental retardation, and no evidence of mother's mental illness" (Gordon, 1968, p. 17).

One of the essential differences between this program and other home visit programs is the use of the paraprofessional as the home visitor. This required a careful training program and a continuous inservice program on a once-a-week basis. The essential goals of the training program for the parent educators were to provide the theoretical understandings, specific skill in tasks, skill in working with and teaching another adult, and skill in observation and record keeping. Role playing, small group discussion, field trips, interview training, observation practice, were all utilized.

In addition to the series materials, the parent educators were taught to make toys which they in turn could teach the mothers to make at home with free or inexpensive materials. They were also taught to encourage the mother to call the baby by name and to describe objects. The materials themselves provide auditory, tactile, visual, and kinesthetic inputs. Magazines (*Life* and *Ebony*) are provided to the families to be sure that picture and reading materials are present. The magazines are used and identified in the series materials to encourage labeling and identification. Further, *Ebony* was used to enable the Negro mothers to see an image or model of successful Negro adults.

Small group meetings were tried, but because of the wide range in geographical area covered by the project, and because of an overestimation as to the ability of the mothers to take over and run their own groups early in the project, attendance was small and the meetings were abandoned.

As in the case of projects mentioned earlier, there were difficulties encountered in establishing relationships and maintaining relationships with families, many of whom were disorganized and under tremendous pressure simply to maintain life itself. The use of the parent educator rather than a social worker assisted immeasurably in the establishment of rapport and in the reduction of defensiveness and hostility. For example, initial interviews with the mother while she was still in the hospital and in the home at the time her baby was 6 weeks old were conducted by the parent educator.

As in the case of the Illinois project, the parent educators assisted in the development and assessment of the instructional materials, although they were presented with a semifinished product which had a particular theoretical orientation. In the Illinois program, the mothers developed the materials and used them with their own children. In the Florida project, the parent educators helped in the development of materials (and are presently developing materials) and taught them to other mothers in the latter's homes. The other programs use direct communication between professional and parent. Here the communication bridge is provided by another parent specially trained to play the role of parent educator. The role should not be seen as "aide" because the parent educator's schedule of home visits is developed by her from a case work load assignment, and she keeps her own records and her own time.

Research Designs

It is obvious that the above pages can only represent the skeletal framework of these projects. Each of them, especially those with longitudinal elements, has complex designs and varieties of sample arrangements. Tables 2 and 3 serve as both summaries of the description and introductions into the research findings of these projects.

Table 2 presents the program goals as they compare to the characteristics listed earlier in Table 1. The first obvious fact is that the university research programs, except for the Boston case work approach to the fathers

Table 2 Program Goals in Relation to Changes in Home Characteristics

	Programs						
Characteristics	Boston	Peabody	Illinois	Howard	Syracuse	NIMH	Florida
Demographic Factors							
1. Crowded homes							
2. Ethnicity							
3. Paternal role, behavior	X						
4. Housing, quality							
5. Income							
6. Social class							
Parental Cognitive Factors							
7. Academic guidance							
8. Cognitive operational level, style of par., child	P,C[1]	C	P,C		C	C	P,C
9. Cultural activities planned		X	X	X			
10. Direct instruction of child		X	X	X			X
11. Educational aspirations							
12. Type of resource provided	Nurs	Nurs, kg		Nurs	Nurs		
13. Intellectuality of home (books, etc.)		X	X	X			X
14. Verbal facility of par., child	P,C	P,C	P,C	C	C	C	P,C
15. Verbal frequency (eg. dinner con.)			X				X
Parent Emotional Factors							
16. Consistency of management	X	X					X
17. Differentiation of self	X						
18. Disciplinary pattern		X					
19. Emotional security, self-esteem of par., child	P,C	C					P
20. Impulsivity	X	X					
21. Internal control, belief in							X
22. Protectiveness, babying of child							X
23. Trusting attitude	X			X			X
24. Willingness to devote time to child		X	X				X
25. Work habits		X	X				X

[1] P means parent change sought, C means child.

completely bypassed any attempts to deal with the economic and social conditions in any meaningful fashion. The Illinois mothers were paid for their time and the Florida parent educators are salaried employees, so that in these two cases there was some change of income. Generally, any attempts to "eliminate poverty directly" are not part of these programs. They are compensatory education programs, not multifaceted approaches to the whole problem of poverty.

It is clear also, from Table 2, that the main thrust of effort in these programs is in the cognitive domain, although Items 7 and 11 are blank. Only three of the seven projects deal with the parent emotional factors across several of the items. Table 3 provides a further analysis of the assessment measures used to test the achievement of program goals. Although these projects were selected for review because they were concerned with parental involvement or home visitation, Table 3 indicates that there is almost a complete lack of measures of change in parents other

Table 3 Design Characteristics of University Programs

	Location						
Characteristics	Boston Univ.	Peabody College	Illinois Univ.	Howard Univ.	Syracuse Univ.	NIMH	Florida Univ.
Sample Families							
Negro	3	43	30	38	20	30	145
White	10	0	0	0	39	0	30
Locus of Program							
Home		X	X			X	X
Center	X	X		X	X		
Roles of Parents							
Parent Educator							X
Develop materials			X				X
Volunteer				X			
Teach own child		X	X				X
Observer, recipient	X				X	X	
Data Sources							
Tests							
Child Cognitive	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Child Affective		X					
Parent Cognitive							X
Parent Affective							X
Other							
Systematic observation	X					X	X
Parent interview		X					
Anecdotes	X				X		

than those which may be gleaned from anecdotes or interviews. One reason for this may be the difficulty of measuring parents who fit into the "disadvantaged" category. A second reason may be that project directors decided that measurement of the children would be the best way of measuring the effectiveness of work with parents. Lack of adequate measurement devices may serve as a third reason. Table 3 indicates that a main measurement area to determine success of the programs was measurement of changes in children's intellectual and cognitive performance. Only Peabody College assessed children in the affective domain, and only the Florida project tested parents directly. Boston University relied heavily on anecdotes and case worker-teacher observations, Peabody on interviews with parents, and Syracuse on anecdotal information. Table 2 indicates that several of the projects were concerned with the verbal facility of the parent and the cognitive operational level of the parent as well as that of the child, but only the Florida program is in the process of collecting data on linguistic behavior of mothers using a modification of the Hess and Shipman (1965) approach. If parental involvement is an important element, then research on parental behavior and attitudes lags far behind our evaluation needs.

We ended Chapter 1 with a hierarchical view of the role of the parent. It is possible to examine these programs from that construct. The highest form of parental participation involvement would be control of design organization and implementation. Obviously, since these research efforts are university devised, none of them originated with or included parents in planning or implementation. The basic decision left to a parent seems to be to participate or not to participate.

At the next level down is the involvement of parent as partner. Two programs used parents as "junior partners." In the Illinois program, parents were involved in the development of the teaching materials which they would then use in teaching their own children. This involved a certain level of decision making and sharing of ideas with staff, rather than the parent simply carrying out a task. In the Florida program, those parents employed as parent educators were involved in a variety of decision making activities and, when working in the homes, behaved completely on their own in terms of making moment-to-moment decisions. They also participated in the development of teaching materials after the basic orientation had been set.

The next level down is the use of parents as volunteers in which no particular training has been provided and there is no involvement in the decision making process. The Howard program used parents in this fashion in the nursery center. Three programs focused on teaching the parent to be a teacher of her own child, which is the next step down in the involvement hierarchy. At the lowest level of involvement (as recipient of case work aid, observer audience, receiver of messages) were the Syracuse and Boston projects. In the NIMH project, even though instruction took place in the home, the mother was merely an observer.

All the programs except Illinois were conceived as longitudinal, that is, covering a period longer than a single year. The Syracuse, Peabody, NIMH, and Florida programs are still in progress so that we may expect, funds permitting, a continuous flow of research and modification of programs throughout the next few years.

Findings

Table 4 presents the summary of the measurement of children. All the projects except the Boston and Florida programs utilized a pre- posttest design. The Boston project may have used a pre- and posttest design, but it is not possible to glean this from the report. The Florida project did not use such a design because parent education began when infants were 3 months of age and there were no reliable measures for that age.

The main intelligence test used for children above the age of 3 was the Stanford-Binet. The Illinois Test of Psycholinguistic Ability was used in both the Peabody and Illinois programs. All report essentially the same thing: children exposed to a compensatory education program made greater gains over a period of time than did children in the control groups.

Table 4 Summary of Measurement of Children

Project	Measure	Exp. N	Cont. N	Finding (s)
Boston U.	Unspecified			Mental age growth
Peabody	Stanford-Binet WISC ITPA PPVT Reading Readiness Stanford Ach. Tests Kagan Reflect-Impuls. Piers & Harris Self-concept	38	42	Experimental better than control, most exposed group best Experimental better than control Experimental better than control in 1964, 1965, not 1966 Experimental better than control Experimental better than control Experimental better than control Experimental more reflective, fewer errors Inconclusive
Illinois	Stanford-Binet ITPA	13	13	Experimental gained more than control Experimental gained over control in visual decoding, auditory-vocal association and sequencing Experimental gained over own pretests
Howard	Stanford-Binet	38	69	Mean gain over 2-year period higher for experimental
Syracuse	Cattell or Binet	22	16	Enrichment group shows longitudinal gains, control shows decline
NIMH	Bayley	30	30	At 27 months, experimental group superior to control
Florida	Griffiths	85	61	Experimental better than control on overall, hearing and speech, eye and hand and personal-social; no difference on performance and locomotor sub-scales
	Series materials (tasks taught to mothers)	77	66	Higher proportion of experimental able to do more tasks than control

Klaus and Gray report no sex differences in gains, but a study by Lally (1968) of the Florida children indicated that the girls seemed to profit more from the program than did the boys, as measured by the Griffiths. Lally also explored the question of whether children cared for by their mothers would perform differently than those who were cared for by surrogates. He found no significant differences. He also found no significant interactions between race and experimental conditions or birth order and experimental conditions.

Since the programs are quite different, it is not possible to make any statement comparing the relative effectiveness of any of these models. Clearly, something seems to be better than nothing. As these programs continue, if their longitudinal plans hold up, it may become possible to analyze the particular features within them which contribute to whatever growth the children are making. At this time, the programs are so unspecific that this cannot be done.

When we turn to measurements of parents, as we have indicated above, we are on even shakier ground. The Florida program developed two attitudinal measures, but since they were developed during the first year of the project, there are no pre-post scores available. However, pre-post scores will be available for a second group of parents who entered the program in the spring and summer of 1967 and who are being tested as their babies turn one year of age. The SRI is the modification of the Rotter I-E Scale (1966), and the HISM is the modification for adults of Gordon's How I See Myself Scale (1968). As reported in Chapter 1, when mothers were tested on the SRI, it was found that the Negro mothers were more external than any group reported by Rotter; the white mothers more internal.

The Boston project reports:

> The most striking change in the parents was the blossoming of their self-esteem and the shift in their image of themselves as parents. Their greatest advances in their relationship to their children were their increasing pleasure in their children and their interest in activity in areas of health and education. Increased social functioning outside the home was reflected in their increasing capacity to make good use of community resources. The degree of involvement with the project did not seem to depend upon whether or not a father was in the home. The mother was the dominant figure and central force in the family life (p. 284).

They conclude that "It is possible to assist the mothers to realize some of their maternal aspirations. Their child rearing practices can be modified" (p. 291). These conclusions are based upon case work records and the observation of the behavior of parents over the length of the project.

Klaus and Gray report, on the basis of annual interviews with the mothers, that:

> When parents were questioned concerning activities shared with their children, the mothers of the experimental children more frequently reported reading and other school-type activities and visits to places of community interest. Mothers of the control children tended to report watching television, helping in household tasks, and playing games together.
>
> When questioned about behavior that made the mother proud of the child, the mothers of the control children stressed helping in the house and self-care, while the mothers of the experimental children stressed achievement and obedience (Klaus and Gray, 1967, p. 49).

Schaefer indicated that data on home environments are being collected, but at the present time no report has been made concerning these data.

The parent educators in the Florida program have been trained to complete an observation schedule at the end of each home visit. Several items of this schedule were analyzed to assess the attitude of the mother toward the project and the relationship between this attitude and child performance was subsequently investigated. As one might expect, the children of those mothers who were most favorably disposed toward the program performed better on both series tasks and on the Griffiths than those whose mothers were less favorably disposed but who stayed with the program.

Although the data are slight and based mostly on "soft" procedures, there seems to be an indication that it is possible to successfully involve parents in teaching their own children and that this changes their behaviors and attitudes. Whether these changes relate closely to growth of children still remains to be seen. Although it is a cliche, further research is necessary. This research must be longitudinal; it must be programmatic; but it must also build in enough specific procedures so that the effects of various combinations of programs can be analyzed for their distinct contributions. As the large-scale programs now stand, it is not possible to suggest what might be the proper mix of cognitive and affective procedures nor the proper use of parents in terms of level of involvement to produce particular effects on the development of children. These programs must be seen as pioneering efforts requiring long-term support before there may be sufficient payoff for generalization to service programs. Although as a nation we are impatient, bypassing the research and development step in the long run will be more costly and inefficient.

3

SCHOOL AND COMMUNITY PROGRAMS

Local Programs

The problem of surveying compensatory education programs throughout the United States to select examples of models of parental involvement is monumental. When the ERIC systems are fully functional, it may be possible to select from the key word "parent" and develop a comprehensive report. This chapter is highly selective and includes only such materials solicited from school districts which had been identified in Hess' *Inventory of Compensatory Education Projects (1965),* were abstracted or indexed in *Psychological Abstracts, Child Development Abstracts* or *Education Index,* or came accidentally to the attention of the author through personal correspondence or visits. The *Inventory* was examined using the key word "parent" to select places from which to solicit information. The general criterion was that parent involvement should be more than a teacher home visit or social work program or ~~an indication of~~ "pupil and parent counseling." Further, an attempt was made to screen out those programs which appeared to be purely service oriented with little chance of evaluation or research data.[1] Over 50 cities were solicited and replies were received from about 20. Replies consisted mainly of unpublished dittoed or mimeographed proposals, progress reports, and evaluation reports.

In addition, the general research literature in education was searched for specific research reports on parental involvement. As we shall see, there are a number of common elements which are characteristic of school system approaches to parental involvement in compensatory education in the preschool and primary years. These characteristics may be compared with the national goals set forth for Head Start, Parent-Child Center, and Follow Through programs. Such a comparison might serve two purposes: *First,* to indicate how programs, which were funded before massive federal support, primarily under the aegis of the Ford Foundation, contributed to the development of models that now are being followed in the federal programs; and *second,* to indicate how the federal guides have been translated by school systems into particulars. Very few programs list in systematic fashion their goals for parents and their design characteristics. Tables 5 and 6, therefore, were constructed from the materials received but represent a certain degree of interpretation and organization by the author. If there are misinterpretations or omissions, then the author must take the responsibility rather than the school system. As in Chapter 2, each program will be described and the tables will serve as summaries.

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[1] Because of the emphasis on evaluation and research, the efforts of several lay organizations are not adequately represented in this chapter. However, the author would feel it remiss to overlook, in particular, the volunteer efforts of the National Council of Jewish Women in serving in many urban schools as teacher aides, community workers, and in a variety of other capacities. Several of the cities make particular note of their volunteer efforts.

Much credit is due the Ford Foundation for its early and intensive support of imaginative efforts to change the school organization through the use of team teaching and teacher aide programs. Although a number of these programs were not originally conceived of in terms of compensatory education, the use of the teacher aide, introduced as early as 1960, for example, in the Pittsburgh schools under a Ford grant, has become virtually a standard for Title I and other programs such as Head Start and Follow Through.

Pittsburgh School System

The aide was introduced into 20 classrooms in Pittsburgh to serve as a "team mother" in the primary grades, undertaking the varieties of "tender, loving care" needed to supplement the instructional program. Pittsburgh also utilized preschool aides, as many as four or five in a room, who were residents of the disadvantaged area and who conducted some supervision of play, storytelling, and chores. The present effort (1967) has been extended to include some men serving as driver aides in three mobile speech and hearing units. The aide in Pittsburgh, however, does not conduct home-school relations but works within the building. The school community agent begun in 1964 under Ford support, is a highly trained professional possessing a Master's degree in social work who serves as a middleman between the principal and the community. It is this role which, in other programs, has been turned over to the paraprofessional who is a parent in the community. The preprimary program in Pittsburgh sets aside one day a week for group parent meetings in which all younger siblings come to school and the parents work with their own children.

Baltimore City Schools

The Baltimore Early Admission Project, also initially funded by Ford, used group activities based on parental concerns and provided for home visits, individual conferences, visitation of school classrooms, and trips with the children. The project directors made no effort to conduct traditional parent education classes but felt instead that parent activities had to be unstructured and informal and suggested by the questions raised by the parents themselves during home visits, conferences, and classroom visitations.

In both these early Ford projects, parents were involved at the lowest levels of responsibility in terms of the categories developed in Chapters 1 and 2 (see Table 6). At the present time in Baltimore City there has been more effort to involve parents in the program. Parents have been contacted in

Table 5 Program Goals in Relation to Home Characteristics

	Projects																		
	Pittsburgh	Baltimore	New Haven	San Diego	New Rochelle	Ypsilanti-Perry	Ypsilanti-Home Teaching	Ypsilanti-Gale	Oakland Interagency	Oakland Preschool	Oakland	Los Angeles Child Observation	Los Angeles Parent Education	Detroit (Aides)	Prince George's	Hempstead, L. I.	Head Start	Parent-Child Center	Follow Through
Change in Parents in:																			
Academic guidance		X						X		X			X		X		X		
Cognitive operational level, style	C	C			C	P,C	C	C	C	C									
Cultural activities planned		X			X		X	X									X		
Direct instruction of child				X		X	X		X				X				X		
Educational aspirations								X					X				X		
Use of community resources									X	X		X			X		X		
Intellectuality of home (books, etc)		X	X		X	X	X	X	X										
Verbal facility						X		C		C		C	C		X				
Verbal frequency (eg. dinner con.)						X		X	X										
Consistency of management				X						X		X			X				
Differentiation of self				X					C	C							X		
Disciplinary pattern			X	X						X		X			X				
Emotional security, self-esteem				X					C	C		X			X		X		
Impulsivity																			
Internal control, belief in																	X		
Protectiveness, babying of child																			
Trusting attitude													X						
Willingness to devote time to child				X		X	X					X	X		X				
Work habits		X													X				
General knowledge of child dev.		X	X	X								X			X		X		
Beginning year	1960	1962	1962	1964	1964	1962	1966	1967	1964	1966	1966	1964	1964	1962	1967	1964	1965	1968	1967
Source of funds	Ford	Ford	Ford	Ros.	N.Y.	OE	Mich	Mich	Ford	Cal	ESEA	Cal	Cal	Ford	ESEA	N.Y.	OEO	OEO	OEO-OE
Additional funds	OEO ESEA	ESEA	OEO		OEO	Mich						OEO	OEO	ESEA OEO					

Table 6 Design Characteristics

	Projects																		
	Pittsburgh	Baltimore	New Haven	San Diego	New Rochelle	Ypsilanti-Perry	Ypsilanti-Home Teaching	Ypsilanti-Gale	Oakland Interagency	Oakland Preschool	Oakland	Los Angeles Child Observation	Los Angeles Parent Education	Detroit (Aides)	Prince George's	Hempstead, L. I.	Head Start	Parent-Child Center	Follow Through
Age																			
Preschool	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X		X				X	X	X	
Elementary											X		X	X	X				X
Locus																			
Home						X	X	X							X		X		
School	X	X	X	X	X	X		X	X	X	X	X	X	X		X			
Roles of Parent																			
Advisory Committee				X													X	X	
Teacher Aide	X			X				X	X	X		X	X	X			X		
School-Community Asst., Home Visitor								X		X				X	X			X	
Volunteer Worker		X			X					X							X	X	
Teach Own Child	X		X	X		X	X	X	X	X					X		X	X	
Classroom Observer		X	X	X	X							X			X		X		
Recipient	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Communication																			
Home Visit	X	X			X			X	X	X				X	X	X	X	X	
Large-group Meeting		X			X				X	X						X	X	X	
Class, Small-group Meeting	X			X	X			X	X			X	X		X		X	X	
Other Services																			
Counseling, Health, Welfare	X													X		X	X	X	X
Measurement																			
Parents							X	X	X	X	X	X	X				X	X	X
Children	X	X				X	X	X	X	X	X					X	X	X	X

homes, on the street, and in other places and activities developed to try and increase their feeling of belonging and acceptance in school. In a 1967 Maryland Title I Report, Baltimore City reports that "approximately $253,000 was invested in the variety of parent involvement and parent reinforcement activities and services. Thousands of parents participated in various ways." However, this participation is again at the recipient level as parents are told by the school about ways in which they may help children. The 1967 report does not indicate any change in orientation from 1964.

New Haven Schools

Observation of their own children in school has long been used as a teaching technique in home economics and child development oriented nursery schools and in parent cooperative nursery schools. What we have in the New Haven program and in other programs such as San Diego is an extension of this idea for disadvantaged mothers.

New Haven, Connecticut, utilized Ford Foundation money as well as other support to develop a preschool program for 2½-year-olds. Although no research data are indicated, the basic plan included a semistructured classroom in which the mother had to spend 2¼-hours one day each week. During this time the mother worked with parent counselors, observed her children, and learned from the counselor that play is a way the child learns.

San Diego Schools

San Diego, under the auspices of the Rosenberg Foundation, set up as part of its adult education program a parent participation class for 25 to 30 parents and their 3- to 5-year-old children. All parents attended one evening session a week and also went to school the three mornings a week in which their children were in the nursery school. The parent served as a teacher assistant as well as an observer and participated in evening group work in child development. There is no indication in Milne's report that the program was limited to any socioeconomic class, except for a mention in the syllabus of the compensatory education committee. The syllabus presents suggestions concerning school routines and a variety of activities, books, music, for working with very young children. Goals of the program were to enable the mothers to understand the child, understand herself, and to strengthen parent-child relationships and improve family life (Milne, 1964).

Note that the San Diego program had a heavy emphasis on the interpersonal relationships, personality development and emotional factors and a much lighter emphasis on organized or systematic cognitive programs. The syllabus indicated a number of activities which stressed the importance of a good relationship with the child. It also included general science activities and language and speech.

In contrast to the Baltimore, Pittsburgh, and New Haven programs, the parents in the San Diego program act in the capacity of an advisory committee. This moves them up the involvement ladder from the recipient category.

New Rochelle

The prekindergarten program in New Rochelle, New York, originally conceived in 1964 and begun with the support of the state of New York in 1965, received OEO support beginning in 1965. The description by Wolman and Levinson (1968-1969) indicates that extended efforts were made to involve parents in the program in keeping with the real life situations facing disadvantaged parents. Unfortunately, the report at this time does not contain research findings, but it is clear from their description that every effort was made to meet the parents in their own language and on their own terms. In the area of communication with the home, for example, they state: "Our communications are planned so that they can be quickly read by busy people with little leisure time who can readily find the purpose of the communique of direct value to themselves and their children. . . it seemed logical then that these parents might more readily respond to communications or programs which utilize audio-visual methods to present the instructional aims of the program" (p. 423). The main characteristic of what they call a parent-school partnership consisted of small group meetings ("coffee hours") in which the classroom teacher led the discussion. These teachers and other staff members had previously gone through an inservice training experience to convey to them "the fundamental conception . . . that low-income parents in the same way as higher-income parents usually love their children, are *not* typically alienated emotionally from them, and want the best for them that life can offer" (Wolman and Levinson, 1968-1969, p. 422). Teachers and other professionals are helped to see that there are differences in style of behavior but perhaps not differences in fundamental feelings toward children. Staff members are selected more in terms of their personal qualifications than their professional qualifications. There is a home-school coordinator employed from the community. "Her responsibilities include assistance in the development of appropriate parent education materials . . . the translation of the aims of the program into instructional terms and formats that are relevant to the culture or living patterns of the families from which the children come" (p. 425). Although Wolman and Levinson use the term partnership, it is not clear from this paper how parents are involved other than as recipients of information, occasional visitors to classrooms, and participants in group meetings. The home-school coordinator might be a parent, but it isn't clear. The only mention of an advisory committee is in the 1965 report in which active involvement of community members is mentioned because it is a "requisite part of the Community Action Program prospective," which may mean that it is not fundamental to their thinking but utilized because it is required.

Wolman (1965) makes a plea for flexibility and openness and time for programs to grow, with funding other than on a 1-year basis. This plea is a critical one to which we will refer again in Chapter 4. In contrast to the programs described earlier in this chapter, the New Rochelle program does not seem to be oriented toward making the parents conform to the school or asking them to change their values; rather the New Rochelle effort seems to be to communicate with the parents in such a fashion that school becomes more meaningful. Parents can see in what ways instructional goals fit into their present value systems, and thus work with the school rather than being recipients. As Wolman and Levinson state it, "programs of compensatory education should not be offered in the spirit of charity or implicit condescension" (1968, p. 422).

Ypsilanti Schools

At this time, the Ypsilanti Public School program, under the direction of David Weikart, represents the only carefully documented effort by schools to carry out an instructional program for children in the home. The first project was the Perry Preschool Project for retarded children begun in 1962 with the support of a research grant from the U.S. Office and funds from the State of Michigan and the school system. The program consisted of a daily 3-hour class for 24 children and a weekly home visit of an hour and a half. It began in September 1962 and terminated in June 1967. The home visitor was a qualified teacher who carried an instructional program into the home and worked directly with the child. "The mothers and fathers of these children met once a month to discuss child management and other school related topics" (Kamii, Radin, and Weikart, 1966). Each child was involved for a 2-year period. This program resembles Schaefer's project, described in Chapter 2, since in both programs a middle class person entered the home to deal directly with the child.

Several research reports indicated that about one-third of the parents "spent an extensive amount of time participating in the teaching session during both years of their children's enrollment in the program" (Radin and Weikart, 1966), and that experimental parents changed in their attitudes toward teachers because they felt teachers were more favorably disposed toward parents than did control parents.

Home Teaching

Overlapping the Ypsilanti project from March 1966 through June 1966, a home teaching program was conducted which differed from the Perry preschool class. The program involved a large-scale research effort and a much more organized, systematic curriculum. The Perry project was for retarded children while the home teaching program was for culturally disadvantaged children. In the latter program there were efforts to involve the mother and train her "through observing the teacher work, functioning as a teacher assistant, and discussing educational problems that she and her child faced. The project teacher provided the necessary equipment and supplies so that the mother could immediately effect the planned program" (Weikart and Lambie, 1967, p. 12). The children entered the program when they were 4 years old. The basic orientation was cognitive and included the following five areas: manipulative activities, dramatic play, perceptual discrimination, classification, and language. Materials are described in Weikart and Lambie. Each of four teachers was assigned to nine mothers. The mothers were required to be present at the teaching session.

Gale Preschool Program

The third project in the sequence was the Gale Preschool Program which ran for 6 months from January 1967 to June 1967, and included classes of 10 4-year-olds. Each class had a teacher and an aide; the children were tutored by the teachers at home every other week and by the aide in alternate weeks. "Activities for the tutorial sessions were on the basis of the child's needs, the mother's predisposition, the facilities in the home, and the ease of replication by the parent" (Radin and Sonquist, 1968, p. 1). The aides were people from the disadvantaged areas themselves who were trained to conduct the tutoring sessions. In this respect the aides here resemble to some degree the parent educators in the Florida program. The curriculum was a mixture of Piagetian approach with a Bereiter-Englemann language training program.

Data were collected from the parents on a modification of the Wolf and Dave scales (see Chapter 2), as well as on an attitude inventory developed by Weikart. It was found that there were more articles in the home for children to use; there was an increase in the level of educational aspiration in terms of number of years of schooling desired, but a decrease in the grades they expected children to attain, which may mean a reduction of high, unrealistic standards. "Considered as a whole, it appears that there are no large differences in the cognitive stimulation taking place in the homes of Negro and white children. The differences which do occur would seem to indicate that greater stimulation is taking place in the home of the Negro children than that of the white youngsters." A significant comment is: "Although these results are only tentative in view of the small n, they do corroborate the view of the staff that the program is most effective in reaching parents who are predisposed to fostering their child's intellectual development but lack the methodology. The project is least effective with alienated, dejected, and/or narcissistic parents" (Radin and Sonquist, 1968, p. 15). The staff of the Florida project would probably support this statement in view of its experience. This still leaves the basic problem of working with the latter group of parents. The present program at Ypsilanti is a system-wide application synthesizing what was learned from the three previous projects.

An interesting contrast is provided between the San Diego program and the Ypsilanti program. Table 5 indicates that Ypsilanti concentrated on parental cognitive factors, San Diego on parent emotional factors. The Ypsilanti program is also the most research oriented of the school programs. The programs which follow all include evaluation because of the federal funding requirement, but Ypsilanti is the only one designed as a research program. It could easily have been reviewed in Chapter 2 except that it was mounted by a school system rather than by a university.

Oakland Schools

The state of California, through several legislative acts prior to and supplementing the federal legislation, has encouraged large-scale programs in its cities. Oakland and Los Angeles are presented merely as samples. Similar programs are in existence in Sacramento, San Diego, and other communities. Both the Oakland and Los Angeles programs have been funded for several years. The original funding sources were the state of California and the Ford Foundation; and now the Office of Economic Opportunity and the United States Office of Education provide support. We will first look at the preschool program and then at the elementary school program.

In 1964, the Oakland Public Schools sought support from the Ford Foundation for an interagency project to run for 2 years in three schools for children aged 3 years 9 months to 4 years 9 months. The goals of the preschool parent aide program were fourfold: (1) to improve home-school relationships, (2) to educate parents in ways of working with their own children, (3) to provide job opportunities, and (4) to relieve the teacher (Oakland Public Schools, 1966). Each classroom of 20 children had six parents employed as parent aides divided so that at any one time there were

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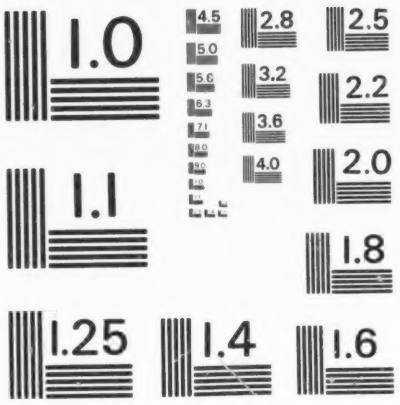
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MICROCOPY RESOLUTION TEST CHART
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a teacher and three parent aides for each group of 20 children. High school graduation, interest, good physical and mental health were requirements for employment. The aides were trained for a 2-week period prior to school and on a continuing basis throughout the school year. Their duties were essentially nonprofessional, but did include working with individuals in small groups during activity periods and helping the children in group living.

There was a parent education program which included an effort to encourage the parents to buy simple books and read to their children, to get the child to the library, to talk to the child and get him aware of the importance of words, to take trips with him, and to improve speech and writing as well as physical development. These aims were encouraged but no direct skills were taught. Parents were involved through open house, parent teas, materials sent home, home visits, and informal contacts. The stress in this preschool program was on speech and language development, cognitive growth, and personality development. The evaluation plan described in the proposal included measurements of children but not of parents.

In the fall of 1964, the project developed a role called "school-community worker" and two such workers were employed in that school year. They were both certified counselors with extensive experience. A part of the research design was to discover appropriate functions for such workers. Time records were kept and a questionnaire developed to find out parents' attitudes. In the elementary school, about 50% of the worker's time was spent on activities related to school behavior and/or academic progress of individual students. Approximately another quarter of her time was spent on activities related to relationships between school and groups of parents. Only 9% was spent on activities in the school not involving parents, and the remainder was called miscellaneous. Within the first category, 30% of the time was spent on counseling and guidance with parents, including home visits, conferences at schools, and telephone contacts directly related to a child's behavior or indirectly related to a child's behavior (family budgeting, unemployment, etc.) (Oakland Public Schools, 1966, p. 11). In the second category, 16% of the worker's time was spent with groups other than the P.T.A., planning discussion meetings, developing leadership, arranging for outside resources and contacting other school personnel. The report noted that, "A sizable portion of the activities of the school-community workers had to occur outside of school hours.... The responsibilities of the workers extended their average working hours per day well beyond the usual eight hours of the business world" (Oakland Public Schools, 1966, p. 12).

The questionnaire results indicated that 73% of the parents improved their opinion of the school's interest in them. Sixty-four percent (64%) of the parents improved their opinion of the working relationship the school had with their youngsters. Sixty-two percent (62%) of them felt better about counseling done with students, 61% felt better about the working relationship of the school with the youngster, and 56% had a higher opinion of the way the school works with children who misbehave, while 45% of them had a better opinion of the teaching methods used. The parents also felt that the school-community workers were helpful in giving them information, in helping them to understand the school, and the school point of view. In addition, 82% of the parents felt that the workers were very helpful in bringing things that bothered parents to the attention of the school. If the program was designed to increase positive attitudes toward school and the number of contacts between home and school, it was effective.

Under the Unruh Act (Oakland Public Schools Assembly bill 1331, 1968), the Oakland schools carried on a preschool program in the 1966-67 year which to some degree was seen as an enlargement of the interagency project. The goals for children were conceptual and cognitive development, language skill, and social-emotional adjustment in the stimulation of interest and curiosity. Parental involvement was sought through monthly parent meetings in which such topics as nutrition and child growth and development were discussed. Parents were encouraged to volunteer as aides, employed as teacher and community aides, and also published a newsletter. Social workers were used to seek increased attendance and parent participation. The attendance-community worker was encouraged to provide experiences for the parents in the home such as by demonstrating materials, sharing slides, and "guiding parents through educational experiences other than the preschool program" (Oakland Public Schools, 1968, p. 61). Adult education classes were conducted twice a month and in each school a parent was recommended for attendance at a parent-leaders group. This group did not have an advisory role, but was designed specifically to develop the leadership potential of parents. The activities in that group, for example, consisted of training in group dynamics, planning adult education classes, and receiving information in early childhood education.

As a part of the ESEA compensatory education program in 1966-67, 329 parents were employed as teacher aides at all grade levels. Of particular interest for this monograph were the following goals for parent assistants: "To provide for more child-adult contacts within a classroom setting, to improve communication between the home and school, to provide part-time employment for capable adults from the school community" (Oakland Public Schools, 1967, p. 237). In the elementary schools, after a period of inservice training, aides provided assistance in classrooms from kindergarten through sixth grade. From an evaluation of aides made by the elementary principals we can see that the aides were involved in the following as aide duties: supervising individual and small group activities, preparing materials, using ditto machines and other equipment, accompanying students on tours, acting as a liaison between school and community. The aides were also expected to encourage students to communicate orally and to guide students through example redirection and speech. The teachers generally concurred with the principals except that only about half saw their aides as acting as a liaison between school and community. Over 80% of the 148 classroom teachers saw the aides performing the other services indicated by the principals. No additional information was provided in the report about the ways in which aides might have worked to improve communication between home and school or to provide more child-adult contact. The parent questionnaire simply asked if parents saw aides as being valuable, but no delineation was indicated. Generally, principals, teachers, and parents felt aides to be of value, but a more detailed report would be required to sort out the area of most concern here, i.e., general parent involvement.

In the Pittsburgh program, we saw that the school-community worker was a highly skilled professional. In Oakland, the school-community worker was a parent from the community who assisted in the coordination of general parent activities, in keeping up the flow of information between school and parents, and who also worked on attendance, and assisted in the inservice training of teacher aides. One of her particular tasks was to reach those parents who were unable to attend.

There were seven goals for the parent education program. These were: (1) to help parents to feel more comfortable in a school setting, (2) to understand how to help their children succeed in school, (3) to increase their knowledge of effective child rearing practices, (4) to understand the value of health examinations, (5) to increase their knowledge of good dental practices, (6) to become more aware of available community services, and (7) to actively involve a large percentage of the parents. A rating by the attendance aides and teacher aides seemed to indicate that generally all these were achieved except helping parents to become aware of available community services. The parents themselves indicated that over 60% attended parent meetings and close to 50% found them very useful. They reported that the most useful subjects at the parent meetings were health and safety (planned parenthood, sex education, first aid, and understanding child development), potential, and self-concept. They reported that their general contacts with school personnel were a great help in giving them new ideas on how to help their children and in providing them with information about school and community services and with dental and health information.

The teachers differ from the parents and teacher aides in their view of the effectiveness of the parent education program. This divergence of opinion may be caused by a difference in the use of a rating scale. Only in the goal of helping parents to feel more comfortable in the school setting did as many as 50% of the teachers indicate "very effective." Fifty percent (50%) indicated that the second two goals, i.e., helping children to succeed and knowledge of effective rearing practices, were somewhat effective, and approximately 40% and 30% indicated very effective. On achievement of the other goals, the teachers' ratings were much lower than those of teacher aides and attendance aides. Teachers felt the best part of the preschool program were the facilities and equipment available; and second best, the enriching experiences for children. Parent participation and parent education were third and fourth on their list. Their main suggestions were that there should be more time for planning and for home visits with parents and with children. The teacher aides and attendance aides felt that the main need for improvement was in parent participation and cooperation and thought the best parts of this preschool program were the group situation and the enriching experiences.

It is interesting to note that the teacher aides did not single out parent education or parent participation as being the best parts of the program to the degree that the teachers did. However, they both seemed to agree with the parents that the total program was beneficial for the children. The data on the children themselves indicated growth in intellectual development.

Los Angeles City Schools

As a result of the McAteer Act in California, a number of school systems launched compensatory education programs. The Los Angeles City School Program represents one such project. In 1964-65 there were one elementary program, five secondary programs, and two adult programs. We will concern ourselves here only with the adult programs. The programs were parent education projects designed to involve the parent in the child's learning process. They were sponsored by the Division of College and Adult Education of the city school system. The Child Observation Project continued a project begun in 1963-64, which used child study techniques for mothers combined with enriched experiences for preschool children. The age of the children was between 2 and 5, and many of the parents had more than one child in the project. There were 10 classes in seven schools. Each class met one morning a week for a 3-hour session divided into two parts. In the first half, the parents participated in discussion groups led by the teachers, dealing with various areas of child development and techniques for using the information. While this was proceeding, the children were in a free-play period supervised by a parent education helper and some mothers. In the second half of the morning, parents observed their children and joined with them in part of the preschool program.

Major topics of discussion were discipline and sex education. In addition, self-concept of the adult and sibling rivalry between children were high on the list. Health and nutrition were also discussed. As in New Rochelle, parents' concerns and questions were central to the agenda. "Almost without exception, the topics of discussion which provided the most vigorous participation arose directly from the class members themselves. Teacher records pointed up the importance of accepting as discussion material the subjects which came directly from group or individual comment" (Los Angeles City School Districts, 1965, p. 63). A critical comment based on the 1963 through 1965 experience was that "The self-concept of class members, particularly those living in public housing projects, is inadequate. More focus upon the development of improved self-image of the parent is necessary if the child is to be helped to see himself as of value."

Of course, not all the teachers were equal in their ability to work effectively with the parents. The report stressed the need for selection, orientation, and inservice training.

A second project was the parent education project coordinated with the elementary school work. Fliers sent home with the school children, newspaper publicity, and individual announcements were all used as recruiting techniques. The subject matter was designed to increase the parents' understanding of the elementary school program and covered the curriculum content, grades kindergarten through six, and the methods for teaching. "Parents were eager to learn methods and techniques for use at home to help their children with school work and to help develop constructive attitudes toward school. Such information and skills were provided by the instructors" (Los Angeles City School Districts, 1965, p. 73). As a result of this program there was a change in the number of voluntary contacts between parents and teachers and, also, in the movement of parents to discuss nonschool related issues in the classroom. Parents became more supportive of the school and more able to accept their share of responsibility for the children when they were taught how to help. A total of about 700 parents were involved in these two projects; about 350 parents in each.

The Los Angeles program did not mention home visits or other attempts to relate to parents outside of a somewhat formal teaching situation in the school. Nevertheless, in both the preschool and elementary school, project concern for the feelings, emotions, and self-concept of adults was evident. The projects seemed to lead to more positive relationships between home and school and more effective techniques for parents helping the growth of their children.

The basic design developed under the McAteer Act has been continued under the Economic Opportunity Act of the federal government and is described in Los Angeles' reports for 1965-66, 1966-67. The preschool program is a mixture of observation and demonstration in the school and classes are held once or twice a week for the parents. In addition, however, some occupational training of child care aides was added to the basic preschool program.

In 1965-66, 38 classes were held with more than 1,000 parents of 2- to 3-year-olds participating. The evaluation procedure investigated changes in parental attitudes toward family life, changes in parents' observations of their children, changes in the observed behavior pattern of children, in parent provision for children's learning, and in child rearing practices. As one would expect, there were differences between parents' and experts' views as to ideal practices in the beginning of the program. Anecdotal records and attitude inventories suggested that the parents changed in becoming more consistent in dealing with children, in increased cooperation with and understanding of the school, in methods of discipline, and in skill in allowing children to engage in activities with a minimum of direction and intervention. Since all of the Los Angeles classrooms had parents who were bilingual, another change noted was that the non-English speaking mothers learned the importance of speaking more English at home.

The continuation of the elementary school project consisted of 25 classes in elementary and secondary schools with an enrollment of 438. Group discussions were the main techniques. However, since training for child care aides was conducted, observation and participation in the parent preschool classes was also part of the program. The objectives were to increase parental understanding of the educational, social, and emotional needs of children, to improve student learning and attitudes, and to increase and improve home-school relationships. Attitude inventories and other questionnaire techniques led to the conclusion that parents were satisfied, administrators felt some improvements had been made in both home-school relationships with parents and in the behavior of children; and parents felt that they engaged in more activities with their children as a result of the program.

In 1966-67 only the parent-child preschool program was continued with the same general objectives and activities. A particular objective in this year was to increase the parents' knowledge of community resources, an objective similar to one in the Oakland project. In April 1967, teacher aides joined in the project, but there was no information as to the definition of their role. The grading schemes and inventories suggest that about half the mothers increased their knowledge of community resources and that there were trends toward positive changes in attitudes and understanding of parental roles in family life and child behavior.

Detroit Great Cities Project

Two facets of the 1966-67 Detroit Great Cities School Improvement Project are of concern to us: (1) the use of school-community agents and school-community assistants, and (2) the large-scale employment of nonprofessionals as teacher aides, staff aides, clerical and material aides, and student assistants. The objectives of the teacher aide program included the strengthening of the communication bridge between school and community by the daily involvement of lay aides in the school.

In 1967, 532 aides were employed. In most cases, they were hired from the local school community by committee action. The committee was formed from local school and community members. No educational achievement (such as possession of a high school diploma) was required. The school-community assistant had as some of her duties: to act as a liaison between school and community, to follow up adult and youth participation, to be informed about community services, and to relate these to school needs. The current job description includes "School-community assistants make home calls and counsel students and parents as to ways to maintain school-community relationships which can help them. The school-community assistant is introduced to the school staff and becomes a regular member of that staff attending staff meetings, making presentations at times, and staying completely informed about school programs and problems" (Neubacher, 1967). In the report on the project published in 1967, the school-community agent, a professional, and the school-community assistant, described above, served in the emergency situation during the summer riot. The agents served in mobilizing emergency food distribution, in finding out what was actually occurring, in working with the children, and in rendering general assistance to individuals in the community.

An assessment of the aide program in 1966-67 indicated that both school and community gained. The school staff not only was assisted in carrying out its assigned roles, but also learned to understand and respect the local community. In addition, teachers reevaluated their roles. The community received a more accurate picture of the complexity of school operation. Students profited from seeing home and school work together. Income and gainful employment were provided to several hundred people. Of special note is the Detroit policy that "nonprofessionals hired to work in the schools must come from the community that school serves" (Neubacher, 1967). In some large cities there is a city-wide aide list, so that aides may not come from the neighborhood. It would seem far more desirable to use the Detroit approach.

Prince George's County, Maryland

The Title I project in Prince George's County, entitled "Operation Moving Ahead," moved into the home as the place of work. Thirteen Parent Helpers were employed in the spring of 1966 to "help parents see themselves as active agents in overcoming educational deprivation" (Maryland State Department of Education, 1967, p. 27). In 1967, 19 Parent Helpers, who were experienced homemakers, were employed. The specific objectives were to help parents:

> feel more 'at home' in the school;
> increase their understanding of what, how, and toward what end the school is teaching their children;
> learn how parents can help their children learn, what motivates children to learn;
> gain more understanding of how children grow and develop, what factors affect this development, what to expect as normal behavior;
> increase their skills in home management;
> learn how to work together as adults;
> learn about community resources and how to use them;
> assume roles of leadership in the group and community;
> increase their confidence in themselves as parents and in their ability to deal with the problems of family life. (p. 29)

The Parent Helpers worked with individuals and groups. Parents came to school to observe their children while baby-sitters were provided, but most of the work was conducted at home. "Special emphasis is given to the multitude of ways in which learning can be reinforced at home and to the way in which the home prepares the child for school" (p. 29). The parent educators received a week of preservice training and held inservice education sessions once a week. They were quite free to devise their own approaches and developed a mixture of individual and group techniques.

The Prince George's project deals more directly with the home characteristics indicated on Table 5 than do the other ESEA projects reported above. The Parent Helper seems to be more than the school-community assistant found in many programs, but her role is less structured than the parent educator of the Florida model or the aide in the Ypsilanti approach. Unfortunately, no evaluation data are provided in the brief report on the Prince George's program, but one might assume that such an approach is well worth pursuing and should be accompanied by a research evaluation.

Hempstead, Long Island

An example of state funds used by a school district is the program in prekindergarten experimentation in Hempstead, Long Island. The parental involvement phases of this program included parent interviews in the fall, a minimum of one home visit per semester, a minimum of one nurse home visit per semester, and parent education meetings held at least weekly.

Baby-sitting services were provided during the parent education sessions. The purpose of the project was to supplement the experience of disadvantaged youngsters through a prekindergarten program, and to provide additional noninstructional services to the child. It would seem from the description that the focus of the work with parents was aimed at enlisting their cooperation and finding out what medical, dental or social worker services were needed by the child. No description is given of the parent education program. The staff is all professional, so it might be inferred that the parent is perceived as a recipient of aid and help, rather than as a partner in the school enterprise. This perception might be contrasted with the view held in the San Diego and the New Rochelle preschool programs.

Summary of Local Efforts

Gordon and Wilkerson (1966) report on a variety of school-home programs involving the following techniques:

1. Home visitor (social worker or teacher) who informs parents about schools and schools about homes and provides for parent counseling.
2. Bringing parents to school meetings for information and counseling, to explain school before entry, and for increasing understanding of child development.
3. Newsletters, motor caravan, family outings.
4. Adult education stressing literacy in adjustment to urban living.
5. The use of parent talent in schools.

The procedures found in the school systems reflect their conclusions. Most of the compensatory education programs stress combinations of the above five characteristics. As one would expect, different school systems approach the problem of parental involvement in different ways, and, although the five characteristics mentioned above appear again and again, there are widespread differences in basic orientation. Although the reports are not complete enough in many cases, so that these comments may not be completely valid, it seems that some school systems see the parent as a recipient of aid and view parental involvement mainly as a technique for getting the parent to: (1) understand the school, and (2) cooperate with the ongoing school program. Many of the ESEA programs do not seem to involve parents at any level in the decision making process.[1] There does not seem to be much effort to understand what parents want which might modify the school's organization, curriculum, or teaching styles to meet community needs. Nevertheless, the efforts at parental involvement represent a clear step forward from the P.T.A. approach and do indicate a desire to communicate and to work closely with parents.

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[1] Program Guide #46, dated July 2, 1968, requires that organizational arrangements be made in Title I (ESEA) programs for community and parent involvement, and suggests that 50% of their membership consists of parents of disadvantaged children in Title I projects, representatives of the poor from the Community Action Agency, and parent members of Head Start advisory committees, as well as authorities and representatives of other agencies concerned with the needs of educationally deprived children.

Many of the Title I programs used teacher aides and home-school-community assistants as major personnel for improving home-school relationships. What is unstated are the reasons why school people seek improved home-school relationships beyond a general implication that a cooperative climate is to be desired. An analysis of Table 5 indicates that the ESEA programs do not specify in most cases what changes they are seeking in home characteristics which might occur because of improved relationships between home and school and the use of aides.

Two key roles are income producing: the school-community aide and the teacher aide. It is not clear, but one might infer, that most people employed in these capacities are women, although the author knows from direct contact that Philadelphia has some men as school-community aides. One of the major problems, as indicated in Chapter 1, is the improvement of the earning capacity of the Negro male. There is no indication in these programs of any direct attack on that problem.

The school-community assistant or aide role seems to be that of trouble-shooter. It is an important task, but is not positive enough. It does not seem to provide a vehicle for parental involvement at any deep level. It continues to place the parent not employed in an aide capacity in the client role. As in the case of the university programs, all of the basic decision making rests with the professional personnel of the schools. Parental involvement is not perceived in these programs as a technique for changing the institution, but designed to enable the parent to help the child cope with and succeed in the institution as it is basically constituted. This is not a condemnation of the programs, but a summary of what they seem to be. It may indicate, however, why many parents are restless and seek other approaches, such as decentralization, as a means to increase their power to determine what happens to their children in schools.

Analysis of Tables 5 and 6 indicate that most of the federally sponsored programs have as a goal increased use of community resources, and most of the foundation sponsored programs have as a goal increasing the intellectuality of homes. The programs aimed at preschool parents, except for Ypsilanti, also tend to include concern for child development, knowledge, and management of children in the home. There is no "across the board" goal for all programs.

When we turn to Table 6, Design Characteristics, it becomes clear that parents are usually placed in the recipient role, but that many programs include the use of parents as aides, and the goal of helping the parent become a more effective teacher of his own child. The primary focus is in the school, with only the Ypsilanti and Prince George's County focusing on the home. Mixtures of communication techniques are common, and many places report trying everything that they can imagine.

It would not be fair to infer from Table 6 that an absence of measurement means that the program had no evaluation or research component. It simply means that the program materials examined did not report on findings or procedures. It is interesting to note, in contrast to the university programs in Chapter 2, how much more effort has been made in the communities to solicit some type of response from parents. However, most measurements of parents are of a questionnaire and interview nature with an absence of standardized measurement. Although school programs are designed primarily as service, it would seem of critical importance that more attention be paid to the evaluation component. It is only as we assess what we are doing that generalizations can be developed which can have widespread application across the country. To some degree, all one can learn from the above programs is that a variety of procedures have been tried, goals and evaluation have not been clearly specified, and most judgments are subjective. This may reflect on the early state of compensatory education combined with the urgent need to do something fast and on a large scale. What may be needed is more effective utilization of Research and Development centers and regional educational laboratories to carry on research effects in careful fashion while school systems continue to do the best they can and incorporate as rapidly as possible what has been learned from research. Later in this chapter we will look at the new Follow Through model which perhaps offers a viable procedure for accomplishing both service and research aims.

We noted above that there are no completely common characteristics in either goals or design, despite the fact that many of these programs have been federally financed. The flexibility belies the fear of "federal control." Of course, there are guidelines, but within these it is clear that individual communities develop programs which they feel to be most suitable for them.

National Programs

Head Start

The Office of Economic Opportunity guidelines for Head Start and Parent-Child Centers are most applicable in view of the earlier discussion of the decision making power of the parent. As stated in the Project Head Start brochure, "The opportunity for parents to take part in making decisions is a major goal of the Head Start program...perhaps the most important parental decision making can center around pinpointing the needs of their children. Parents know the home background, the problems they face, and the order in which they feel these problems ought to be met.

"The advice of parents is essential in planning and carrying forth the Head Start Child Development Program. Parents should have a chance at the very earliest stages of organization to make suggestions and recommendations as members of planning and advisory groups. Parents' representatives should be chosen through democratic methods" (OEO, 1967, p.14). The August 1968 *Head Start Newsletter* includes a bill of rights and responsibilities for parents, 10 rights and 10 responsibilities which stress participation as a decision maker, helper, and learner. The structure of Head Start, then, differs from the programs presented above in its requirements for parental involvement in decision making and organization. In addition to serving on advisory committees, parents are encouraged to volunteer their services as well as to seek employment as teacher aides, bus drivers, community aides, and the like. As in the case of programs described above, Head Start includes opportunities for parent education. Such education may include adult education, consumer education, child development, nutrition, homemaking, and family life activity. Both cognitive and affective goals for parents in Head Start are categorized in Table 5.

How well has Head Start functioned? It is probably too soon to make any categorical statements as to the effectiveness of the national program. Local communities, particularly because of the program's involvement with parents and community personnel, have developed a variety of Head Start procedures. A summary of the research indicated that "...within the category of economic poverty, those parents who volunteered to participate in the early Head Start programs seem to feel less alienated from American society. One study of a city-wide program indicated that Head Start families felt more positive attitudes toward legal authority and the church, were optimistic about anti-poverty programs, made greater use of community welfare resources, were verbally skilled and better educated, were socially outgoing, and had more intact family structures than economically comparable non-Head Start families" (McDavid, 1967, p. 4). Neither the Florida Parent Education Program nor the Ypsilanti program have solved the problem of reaching the most difficult group of parents. Early Head Start evidently suffered from the same difficulty.

A major goal of Head Start was to enhance the intellectual development of the children. It has been found that "...children who attend Head Start advance in measures of intelligence to significantly higher levels, with little or no relation to the particular style of the program" (p. 7). The report also indicated that it is not clear why this should be so. Further, more careful study of separate approaches must be continued.

What effect has the program had on parents, or on the role of the parent as it affects the child? "It has also been found that children whose parents were voluntarily participants in Head Start continue to do better once out than children whose parents had been actively recruited for participation in the program" (McDavid, 1967, p. 10). If we refer to the earlier quotation, it may be that the initial group of parents had more interest and more positive attitudes and that these were the governing factors rather than the program *per se*. Parents felt that the program was beneficial to their children. They also felt that they learned about child development and child rearing and that their own aspirations were raised. Negro parents and workers have shown more enthusiasm than whites. The national summary concludes that more rigorous research on the family and the child as well as on the nature of the program must be continued, and this author heartily agrees.

There have been, of course, separate evaluations of Head Start right at the community level. Clarizio (1968) investigated changes in maternal attitude in two midwestern communities and found no significant difference in maternal attitude after parental involvement in an 8-week summer Head Start program. The basic program consisted of formal meetings of a small group nature, formal lectures and discussion of Head Start, nutrition, the values of education and the like, and made no use of parents as liaisons, or in observation of children. Home visists were simply of a social work nature. He concluded that "higher priority must be given to activities designed to change parental beliefs...more imaginative means of strengthening the relationship between home and school must be devised and greater emphasis placed on the importance of the home's reinforcement of the school's efforts" (p. 113). Again, note that there is no transactional relationship indicated. There was no suggestion that the teacher could learn from the parent or that there might be ways in which the school could reinforce home efforts. The failure to come up with change might partly be due to that, but also might be due to the formal nature of that particular program.

The evaluation of the Milwaukee 1965 Head Start program indicated that of 50 parents studied (a representative sample from all 25 classes), 40% enrolled their children to prepare the child for school and 20% indicated social development as a reason. Only six of the parents attended family life education meetings, 10 served as volunteer helpers, 12 went on field trips, and 29 participated in group conferences. Forty-four (44) of the 50 visited the school, but only five attended three or more room meetings and only nine conferred with the principal. Belton and Goldberg reported that very few parents took any initiative to get information about the program in general from school personnel. Although the parents viewed the program positively, the evaluators commented "parents appear to need encouragement to become more intensively involved in the Center program. Apparently, many parents view the program as child oriented rather than family oriented" (Belton and Goldberg, 1966, p. 7). They also pointed out that more techniques for parental involvement need to be devised and ways found to overcome the parents' lack of initiative in participation.

Parent-Child Centers

The new Parent-Child Center program began in the fall of 1968. Its guidelines imply that it will deal with some of the factors listed in Chapter 1, Table 1, and also take advantage of what has been learned from the Head Start program. For example, the quotation above on the Milwaukee program was that parents see it as child centered. The Parent-Child Center program emphasizes the family as the agency to be served. It is planned to be a comprehensive program, including health care for the child and education and health care for other family members. Intellectual stimulation activities begin with prenatal education of the mother, a program of stimulation in infancy, day care, and an education program for the parents in child development, family management, job skills, personality development, and husband-wife relationships. The PCC program also includes social services to the entire family and suggests programs to involve family members in participation in neighborhhood and community. The objectives of the Parent-Child Centers are:

1. *Overcoming* deficits in health, intellectual, social, and emotional development and maximizing the child's inherent talents and potentialities;
2. *Improving* the skills, confidence, attitudes and motivations of the parents as citizens, parents, and individuals;
3. *Strengthening* family organization and functioning by involving the youngest children, the parents, older children in the family, and relatives;
4. *Encouraging* a greater sense of community and neighborliness among the families served by the center;
5. *Providing* training and experience for both professionals and nonprofessionals who may then be employed in work with parents and children;
6. *Serving* as a locus for research and evaluation of progress toward the objectives stated above (OEO, 1967, Introduction).

As in the case of other federal programs, individual communities within these guidelines will develop a variety of approaches designed to meet local conditions and achieve local goals. These proposals and programs have not yet been published, but several have been designed to utilize the Florida Parent Education model, either in its entirety (Chattanooga) or in terms of the curriculum materials. Other programs will emulate aspects of the Syracuse, Peabody, and other university programs described in Chapter 1. There has been no specific attempt (apart from a seminar for prospective Parent-Child Center coordinators) to encourage the use of university research programs as models for the Parent-Child Centers. As in the case of Head Start, parental involvement may take many forms, from serving on advisory boards to receiving aid. Each Parent-Child Center must have parents and other community personnel on the planning committee and on the policy advisory committee. It is expected that the latter committee will have at least "50% of its membership drawn from parents and other neighborhood residents" (OEO, Parent-Child Centers, 1967, p. 49). The Parent-Child Center program represents a downward extension of Head Start. It fits into the prevailing psychological theory of the importance of the early years in setting the stage for both intellectual and personality development. It stresses the importance of the family as the unit in which this development occurs.

Follow Through

There is also an upward extension of Head Start called "Follow Through." Follow Through programs were initially begun in the fall of 1967 on a pilot basis in 40 communities. They came into being because the evaluations of Head Start indicated that many children who showed gains in the Head Start program might not have fully maintained these in conventional school programs. Although the national evaluation reported a late "bloom" of Head Start children during the second year of school, which may have been due to development of attitudes toward school and the development of work habits which enable the child to learn, some early evaluations of the program in large urban centers seemed to indicate that gains were not maintained. The Follow Through program was designed to carry the Head Start comprehensive service for children up into the first grade of school beyond Head Start (kindergarten in some places, first grade in others) with a planned increase to maintain the comprehensive services through the third grade.

The 1968-69 Follow Through program represents a unique attack on the problem of compensatory education in the schools. Several meetings were held among university research personnel involved in carrying on programs of compensatory education. As a result of these meetings, several models were developed and presented to prospective Follow Through communities at two 3-day sessions in February of 1968. A requirement for participation as a new Follow Through center was a selection of one research model as a basic part of the program for the school system. Three of the models are clearly concerned with parent involvement. The Kansas University model stresses the training of mothers in operant techniques for reinforcing the behavior of kindergarten children. The Florida Parent Education model is an outgrowth of the project described in Chapter I. A parent involvement program placing major responsibility for program development on the parents themselves is an outgrowth, to some degree, of the Mississippi Child Development Group approach mentioned in Chapter I. Basic to all of the Follow Through models is the attempt to implement university originated research in a public school setting. A national evaluation is also a key part of the program. This double thrust should overcome one of the major difficulties which exists in so many school attempts at intervention, that is, the lack of effective research and evaluation. Both university researchers and school people need to learn how to work together and conduct the kind of field work which is quite different from a laboratory experiment. One might hope that a researcher's rigor will somehow be maintained at the same time that the practical knowledge of school people will function to temper the researcher's need for data. The general guides for Follow Through indicate a set of goals summarized on Table 5, but the models are so diverse that each particular one deserves a separate column in Table 6. Only those roles indicated in the guideline have been marked.

The three federal programs, Parent-Child Center, Head Start, and Follow Through thus serve the child and his family from before birth through the third grade. Each allows for and encourages parental involvement at all levels. Each provides medical, dental, and social services, as well as educational opportunities for child and parent. Each allows for great diversity in implementation and reflects federal support without restrictive federal control. The effectiveness of these programs and their maintenance will depend upon the development of continuous funds rather than the present year-to-year operation. For all three programs longitudinal research studies must be mounted to study particular children in families for the total length of time. If research attempts remain piecemeal, and if some communities have only one or two of the programs, then careful research on effectiveness will be diminished. What is needed is the type of design which would allow for the inclusion of some families in all three programs, some families in two of the three programs, and other families in one of the three programs, so that comparative effects of length and timing of participation can be assessed. Goals must be spelled out in terms of expected measurable changes in behavior, attitude, and skill rather than only in process terms of increased community relationships. Although the latter is a measurable goal, it still does not answer the question of what effect the increased home-school (or agency) relationship had on the child, the parent, and the school or agency.

4

IMPLICATIONS

It is clear that we are still at a very early stage of development in our understanding of the problems of compensatory education. It is also clear that federal guidelines and federal money do not lead to a monolithic stereotyped program but do, in fact, encourage a variety of efforts on the local level. However, we still face the problem of integrating and synthesizing these efforts, of analyzing them, and of making systematic recommendations to communities, states, and the federal government, concerning what kinds of projects seem to work in what settings.

Program Organization

The first major implication of the investigations reported in this paper is program organization. Under the organization heading are such questions as locus of control, location of service, purposes and goals, and use of personnel.

Control

A basic dilemma we face is the question of control. Both the so-called disadvantaged home and the school must somehow be changed through the combined efforts of school people and parents. Many of the programs seek to change the home and leave the school inviolate. Many parents are now demanding that the school change to become more what parents want. Institutions have long had a history of spending their energies in preserving the *status quo.* Sometimes this has led to the destruction of the institutions as the only means available for change. It would be indeed unfortunate if this were our only solution. If we do not wish the home or the school destroyed, we must somehow find vehicles for communication and cooperation by which both institutions are modified without going through the destructive phase. Professionals feel that curriculum, teaching methods, and school organization are their professional prerogatives, and this author has often shared their view. Parents and those outside the education profession, however, feel that they have much to say and to contribute and should, therefore, be involved in decision making.

The issue is very well put by Fantini who stated that "for the most part...compensatory education is a prescription that deals with *symptoms...*

The assumption is that the schools need to do somewhat more for disadvantaged pupils, but it does not presume that the school itself is in need of wholesale reexamination" (Fantini, 1968, p. 4). He further claims that compensatory education is viewed by parents with distrust because the techniques do not seem to be working. Therefore, he suggests that what is needed is total system reform to allow for participation by all concerned. "Participatory democracy in education should also give parents and community a tangible respect for the intricacy and complexity of the professional problems in urban education" (p. 14). He feels that "as parents are admitted to participation in the school's education process, they will become better equipped 'teachers' of that part of the 'curriculum' in which they are the prime agents–rearing the home" (p. 15).

The conference of the National Committee for the Support of the Public Schools on the Struggle for Power in the Public Schools presents us with diverse views about the locus of control. Parents, teachers, principals, and students all indicate their needs and no one can realistically deny that all have needs and responsibilities in American education. Walter Washington, the mayor of the City of Washington, D. C., suggested four propositions:

> 1. Educational systems should enable all persons affected by the educational process to be heard and to have their ideas considered.
> 2. The systems should be focused on results as well as opportunity.
> 3. The educational system should be coordinated with other institutions and with the rest of society–which scientists might describe as an ecological approach.
> 4. The educational system should be sensitive to the changing needs of society and have a fast reaction capability. (Washington, 1968, p.12)

Stating the first proposition more earthily, Spencer said:

> Everyone says, leave it to the professionals, you know. We have been sitting back, also, and saying, leave it to the professionals; but the professionals have done the wrong damn things. What we are talking about is not parents coming in and becoming teachers and principals. We still feel the professionals must be there, but let them be the professionals of *our* choice, the professionals that have ideas along the lines of what we in our communities think is best for our children.
>
> We are particularly tired of people coming in and plunking down what they think is *best* for us. They say the parents won't get involved. Why? Because they have been depending on you. Parents have been taking it for granted that you knew what you were doing, and now we find that you *don't* know what you are doing. So we are not telling you to get out and you can't do it–but we *are* saying that we want to be in there to see that you do the job of educating our children. (Spencer, 1968, pp. 25-26)

On the face of it, Spencer's argument makes a good deal of sense. Professionals are not prone to turn power over to parents, especially parents who are supposedly "disadvantaged." The very title, "compensatory education," implies a deficit. If the children are supposedly deficient in certain language skills, ability to conceptualize, to abstract, to generalize, because the home is not providing these, the logical assumption must be that parents, too, since they themselves grew up in such homes, lack these capabilities. How, then, can one turn decision making, which involves complex abstractions, systems analysis, and complicated budgetary maneuvering, over to people who are seen as lacking the ability even to prepare their own children adequately for school and society as it is? On the other hand, how can school people preserve for themselves all the decision making powers when they are in effect influencing the lives of parents and children, often without understanding the meanings of their decisions?

Parental involvement must somehow mean involvement of parents in partnership arrangements stressing the needs, strengths, concerns, and special knowledge the parents have and utilizing the expertise of the professional. This requires an atmosphere of mutual trust. It raises the additional question of how such trust can be established. Perhaps the groundwork does exist in the present community-school agent and teacher-aide, parent educator roles. Trust can develop from their effective work, but it also requires that school people learn to listen as well as to talk; it requires that teachers and principals and supervisors become clearer in defining what they see as professional and what is not, what they feel is open for discussion and what is not.

Institutional change is neither easy nor painless, yet it is essential for progress. Different communities and school systems will obviously arrive at different solutions to the problem, but all need to face the issue that parents do not perceive themselves (or will not continue to perceive themselves) as recipients and clients. This does not mean that parents wish to intrude on the professional. What they seek is not necessarily control, but participation. However, there will be power struggles. We see them going on in New York City at the present moment because there has not been a clarification of role. The struggle may be the means of clarification, but the dilemma will be with us for the next several years.

Purposes

A second issue, intimately connected with that of control, concerns the purposes of programs for parental involvement. We have seen that many local programs are designed purely to improve home-school relationships, while university research programs are designed to make some changes in the cognitive and affective behavior of the parents. Fantini has indicated what he considers to be program purposes. "For the parents, a tangible grasp on the destiny of their children, an opening to richer meaning for their own lives. For professionals, surcease from an increasingly negative community climate, and, even more positively, new allies in their task. For the children, a school system responsive to their needs, resonant with their personal style, and affirmative in its expectations of them" (Fantini, 1968, p. 16). But even Fantini's comments do not get us to the third proposition raised by Washington. They do not deal with the coordination of the educational system with other institutions. They do not offer an ecological approach.

Compensatory education, by definition, is perhaps too restrictive a term. As the materials in the descriptive chapters indicate, basic demographic factors influencing child development are not attacked through compensatory education. Crowded homes, the quality of housing, the general level of income, the general living conditions, the structure of the family are not dealt with, yet the data indicate how very important these characteristics are. Compensatory programs could be designed to go beyond even the present notions of the Parent-Child Centers and Follow Through, which still see the family as client in the areas of health, psychological and social welfare services, although they offer opportunities for parents in decision making about many aspects of the program.

What is needed are programs that involve conscientious effort to do something about housing at the same time they attempt to do something about education. We need efforts that work for changes in male job capacities and opportunities; efforts that involve bootstrap ways of raising one's own quality of living. Perhaps some of the suggestions for negative income tax or a guaranteed annual income, offered by even such conservative economists as Friedman, need to be investigated as part of the total systems approach to the problems of the poor. We found in our Florida program, for example, that attempts to reach some parents with educational services for their children were meaningless because the difficulty in maintaining a semblance of family life and a bare minimum of sustenance made the educational program look like an unattainable luxury that was somehow an irrelevant factor.

Purposes, then, must be broadly conceived in terms of changing the school, changing the community, changing the family, and changing the nature of the whole living situation. At the very least, they should cover the range of characteristics in Table 1. Clearly this is a difficult step and guidelines for program development are unclear. Efforts should begin with small research projects using systems approaches, funded by foundations, and perhaps research money from the federal government for a period of years before massive attacks on a large scale with huge sums of service money are spent. We should have learned by now that rapid expenditures on unproven models not only waste money but also increase the level of frustration of the people for whom the service was designed. We see some of the difficulties and errors made in public housing and in welfare because they were either designed in piecemeal fashion or implemented too rapidly without careful consideration of the long-range effects from an ecological standpoint. High-rise public housing projects may have moved people from certain types of slum conditions, but they also seem to have moved people into alienation, loss of neighborhood affiliation, and lack of identification with neighbors, and caused an increased crime rate within the project. We can learn much from systems analysis and from ecology which might spare us similar predictable difficulties.

Utilization of Personnel

Virtually all of the school systems described in Chapter 3, and several of the programs in Chapter 2, make use of paraprofessionals. They are in increasing demand in social agencies as well as in school systems in the performance of a variety of roles. Yet we lack models for training, for career development, and for integration into ongoing institutions when federal monies run out. Further, even within the federal projects geared to the annual appropriation system, the paraprofessional worker is subject to fluctuations in morale because of insecurity of job position.

As noted in the Detroit report, the use of nonprofessionals in schools raises some serious issues about funding. When state and federal support are uncertain or fluctuate in amounts, problems are created for the individual. As stated:

> It is devastating to build up hopes of regular employment and income which can dramatically alter the material and, more importantly, the entire mental outlook of an individual and his or her family, and then to reduce or eliminate this opportunity. Local school systems, as well as state and federal sources of revenue, must provide clear guidelines in this area.
>
> Secondly, carefully planned orientation and training programs must be instituted in the school system working closely with the community to insure the fastest development of productivity as well as systematic growth and nurturing of the latent talents of the nonprofessional. (Neubacher, 1967, pp. 21-22)

We discovered in our Florida experience how critical the morale factor created by the uncertainty of funding can be, particularly for nonprofessionals to whom the job represents not only a steady source of income but a basic change in self-image and role behavior. As one of the Florida parent educators expressed it when we were unsure of further support, "How can I go back to being a maid again?"

The relationship of paraprofessional to teacher or social worker is still in need of clarification. One suggestion is that training programs be constructed so that people who will work together, regardless of role, train together. We have often talked of teams, but most of our training has been conducted in separate compartments. The teacher, psychologist, social worker, and the paraprofessional are expected to learn how to communicate on the job when none of their training has seriously addressed itself to the communication process among adults. Teacher training is particularly culpable in this regard. Teachers are still trained as though they will be the only adults present in the classroom with a group of children. They receive no help in learning how to work either in an equal fashion or in a supervisory relationship toward another adult. As the school changes and more and more paraprofessionals enter the school system, teacher colleges and colleges of education must modify their programs.

The training of the paraprofessional worker must also receive more careful attention, along with role delineation, so that there are some specific job skills learned which may serve as a base for either career development within the agency or as transferable skills to employment in other occupations allowing for vertical mobility. If the aide position is an unskilled role, it will always have a low salary or wage, insecure tenure, and lack of motivation and self-esteem.

Content

Program content for parental involvement is another issue. Parental involvement and parent education are not synonymous terms. Parent education has often been conceived as didactic instruction in child development, either through P.T.A. programs, small groups, or home visits, and has not necessarily included education of the parent to function as an advisor and participator in the affairs of the school and community. Parent education needs redefinition so that these other skills supplement the knowledge and skill areas in child rearing and child development. Such a broadened definition of parent education raises the question of how these skills should be taught and where they should be taught. At the present time, programs vary from open, permissive, group settings to highly structured operant conditioning. It is far too early for any reviewer to make any assumption as to the superiority of any process. Indeed one might almost say that as long as work is done the process may not be critical.

It is also not clear at this time where parent education should be conducted. Obviously, this author has a bias in favor of a home visitation program, particularly for reaching those parents to whom the school represents a hostile force or unpleasant memories. Yet even a home visit program cannot reach all parents. Programs conducted in schools have been successful; programs which mix school and home visits seem to be doing well; and programs which are focused primarily on home visits seem to be accomplishing their goals. The issue still remains; the answers are not yet in. Therefore, the implications are that we should not engage in premature closure, but that varieties must be funded and continued, testing out either single efforts or mixed approaches to reaching parents wherever they can be reached.

The next implication has been mentioned briefly in various places throughout this monograph. This is the critical importance of research and evaluation. Many of the programs reviewed have not developed any type of effective design for understanding either those changes which occurred from beginning to end or, more critically, those factors within the program which brought about change. We need longitudinal studies with long-range funding for at least 5 years to study the effects of programs on school, home, and child. Short-term models involving a semester, or even a year, are inadequate to the task. Further, evaluation must move away from strictly pre-post measures and take advantage of what might be called quality control techniques. The analogy is that of the assembly line in which at stated intervals the products in process are inspected to see if all is moving along properly. In a complex systems approach to compensatory education one modification of this analogy might be made; that is, as the product and process are sampled along the assembly line, it might be discovered that the product looks different and is superior to what was envisioned. This might suggest that a branch line be built from the main assembly line and the program diverted to new goals and new techniques.

Gewirtz and Gewirtz (1965) illustrate one technique for the careful delineation of environmental settings which may help get around the gross labels, such as "social class" and yield specific relationships between stimulus conditions in a setting and child development. Their analysis of interaction sequences in infant care settings is adaptable to nursery school and other preschool settings. The work in systematic observation of classroom behavior (Gordon, 1966; Soar, 1967; Brown, 1968; among others) offers clues for monitoring procedures of school programs. The Florida Follow Through model is making use of this approach. This is why time is needed and why programs should not be frozen into fixed models too soon. We must be able to take advantage of what our monitoring teaches us. It is not as simple as sending a rocket to the moon which contains an inertial guidance system that simply corrects for error and restores the rocket to its predetermined path. Here we don't know what the path should be, and we need to engage in error amplification when we find that diversions from the path are profitable, rather than error correction to bring us back to a path that we now realize is not necessarily going toward the goal. This technique has been labeled "the second cybernetics," but it has not yet been used in any conscientious and systematic fashion in the programs described in this monograph.

Piaget stressed what he called "reversibility" as evidence of movement up the cognitive ladder. In effect, he said one must be able to undo with one's mind what has been done, to raise alternative pathways and test them out even before action. What is being suggested here is the application of the principle of reversibility to ongoing projects even after actions have been made. Of course it is not always easy to undo what has been done after behavior has occurred. However, we should so design and think about research in this area that we allow for the possiblity of scratching a procedure or a strategy even after it has been under way when we recognize that it is not productive, rather than continuing it simply because some proposal or design called for it. It would seem to be a fundamental error to do something that has already proven ineffective. The escalation of effort may not be the answer when change of course may be indicated. This is a plea for flexibility in the design of research and evaluation. Since we are still in effect exploring unknown territory, doctrinaire approaches are not warranted.

Both the university studies and the school programs have been unsuccessful in their attempts to reach the unreachable. We need to devote energy to the development of strategy for the involvement of those who have so far remained uninvolved. In the field of very early intervention it has been suggested that we remove children from uncooperative parents and homes which are disaster areas because agencies may be able to provide better growth facilities than the home. If we are concerned only with the child, the data indicate that separation may not be harmful. "These few studies [of separation from parents] indicate that the provision of care by substitute mother figures which is adopted to the individualized characteristics of the child, and the provision of adequate stimulation in the environment may be effective in preventing extreme personality and intellectual deterioration" (Yarrow, 1964, p. 109). On the other hand, there are no data which prove that it may be enhancing for the child. Further, most often such provision of care is foster home rather than institution. The latter runs counter to the general American ethic, although institutions exist as holding agencies. If this solution to the problem of the unreachables is not acceptable, what are the alternatives? Present home visitor programs are not effective with this portion of the population. They represent the attrition figures. Mass media attempts have been suggested, but programs such as Operation Alphabet have not been successful. Ingenuity and creativity are required because here is truly unknown territory. The Head Start research shows that children of parents who volunteered do better than children of parents who had to be recruited; but anyone who has worked with Head Start knows that there is also a group of parents that were unrecruitable.

One suggestion currently being offered is group day care for the very young. The concept of day care envisioned goes beyond the physical well-being of the child and includes stimulation activities of the type mentioned in Chapter 2. Changes in social security and welfare legislation may lead to this type of solution as pressures are exerted to put AFDC mothers on payrolls. Some of the mothers may be employable as paraprofessionals in the day care center, paid to care for their own babies, since such care will require a very high adult-to-infant ratio if we wish to prevent institutional deterioration (Dennis and Najarian, 1957; Provence and Lifton, 1962) and also to foster optimum development. Certainly here is an implication and challenge for those concerned with human development.

A FINAL WORD

The aim of the author has been to present some background information about home characteristics and needs, to identify some selected program approaches, and to highlight what needs to be done. Although this last section may have sounded pessimistic, the challenges are great and the rewards even greater. We stand at the place where education and social science can contribute to the building of the society. Years ago the question was raised as to whether schools simply follow or can lead. We are now offered the opportunity to demonstrate the ways in which the school system, including higher education, can serve the society in building stronger families, healthier and more capable children, in developing positive self-esteem, and in raising the quality of life for all Americans. Educational institutions, broadly conceived, can become effective agencies for helping the individual to achieve his inalienable right to "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

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